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Nuclear Times

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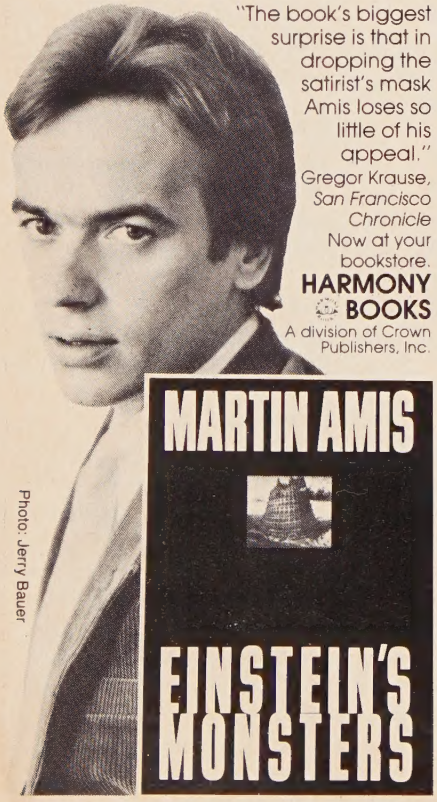

Photo: Jerry Bauer

LETTERS

Watch Your Language

I like your magazine, but you are guilty of accepting some of the language distortion the nuclear establishment has created to nullify the public and pacify the pacifists.

The example that comes to mind is the term "arms control." There was a time when people who cared about peace were not afraid to use the term *disarmament.* That is a term that means something: fewer weapons, very few perhaps, even zero.

The terms "arms control" and "arms limitation" have replaced that wonderful word disarmament in public discourse. Peacemakers should not let the nuclear establishment dictate the language. After all, 6,000 "arms control" talks since World War II have not slowed the arms race one iota!

Gordon C. Bennett
Paoli, Pennsylvania

Your criticism is right on target, to use a worn-out military cliche. It is extremely important for the peace movement to choose its words with care, for the struggle for peace and disarmament is to a great extent a struggle over the language that shapes public opinion.

William A. Gamson of Boston College discusses the battle over language on page 27 of this issue.

A Focused Purpose

The anti-nuclear weapons movement and thus, by implication, your magazine, has been diluted by its diversity. The answer is simple. Stop nuclear weapons testing and next, stop nuclear weapons production. Massive, nonviolent demonstrations are needed in Nevada where the tests take place. Join me in accomplishing this.

Geoffrey Shaskow
Greenbrae, California

As a matter of practicality, not all Americans in the peace movement can travel to Nevada to demonstrate bomb tests. We applaud those who do, but we also encourage people interested in disarmament to do what they can in their own communities to promote peace.

Soviet Superiority?

George Perkovich is right. The media is blindly accepting the myth of Soviet superiority in conventional weapons. But what would be the correct response if the Soviets did have a superiority?

It would not be to retain nuclear weapons. That would simply make us hostage to all sorts of things. There are any number of better responses. Strengthen the United Nations and the World Court. Negotiate reductions in conventional weapons. Let the Europeans spend their own money on building up conventional weapons if they really believe the propaganda. The first suggestion is my preferred approach. However the last is a better argument to use with the more conservative people in our society. For them it might have appeal because it passes some of the economic burden on to our economic competitors.

Richard Foy
Redondo Beach, California

Warts and All

Meg Gage's criticism of *Nuclear Times*' "treatment" of David Cortright is off base. As the author of the article Gage found offensive, I'd like to respond.

Neither I nor *Nuclear Times* made any "comments" about Cortright. The article cited concerns about SANE and Cortright by Freeze grassroots activists during the SANE-Freeze merger debate. The article made no judgement about those concerns, simply noting that they existed, as anyone connected with the merger knew. Leaving it out would have been dishonest. Including it did not imply any disrespect for either SANE or its executive director.

But Gage's letter raises a more basic issue. She implies that *Nuclear Times* shouldn't print anything negative about people as important as Cortright, and in fact, *Nuclear Times* has generally been careful to shield movement leaders from serious criticism. These attitudes reflect a basic hypocrisy in the movement. We revel in press disclosures about Reagan, Pentagon boondoggles and contra drug-running, but we don't want those same standards applied to coverage of our groups.

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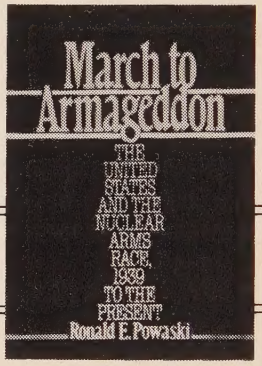
THE UNITED STATES AND THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, 1939 TO THE PRESENT

March to Armageddon

Ronald E. Powaski



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NuclearTimes

Editor: Elliott Negin

Senior Editor: Robert Schaeffer

Associate Editor: Christine Riddiough

Contributing Editors: David Corn, Corrina Gardner, Suzanne Gordon, Howard Kohn, Maria Margaronis, Renata Rizzo-Harvi

Contributing Writers: William A. Gamson, Jeff Johnson, Yusaku Kamekura, David Lewis, Scott Ridley, Jennifer Scarlott

Interns: Robert Richie, Leon Tune

Art Director: Elliott Negin

Design Consultant: Ellen Cohen

Illustrators/Photographers: Karen Byars, Mark Fisher, Ray Driver, Brad Holland, Randy Jones, Ed Kashi, Michael Porter, Rick Reinhard, Graham Ridley

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Executive Director: Richard Healey

Business Manager: Christine Riddiough

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David Cortright and the other peace and disarmament leaders are dedicated and hard-working people. But we do them and ourselves a great disservice when we let those leaders know that we will print only positive and upbeat stories about them. *Nuclear Times* should have reported extensively about organizational problems within SANE and the Freeze in 1985 and 1986. It should tell us what our groups and leaders are doing right—and what they are doing wrong. We'll never learn from our mistakes by becoming defensive, only by examining them and making changes.

I encourage *Nuclear Times*' new editorial staff to show us the movement's warts as well as its many good moments—we'll all benefit as a result.

Ed Glennon
Washington, D.C.

The Soviet Record

Catherine Girrier's article, "Who's Cheating Now?" (*Nuclear Times, January-February 1987*) was long overdue.

The Reagan administration has been able to use "noncompliance" and "can't verify" as weapons in its anti-Soviet propaganda to obstruct nuclear arms control. Not only has this severely confused the general public, but it has also retarded efforts to secure a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Much time was lost by not countering the administration's falsifications.

Mollie Siegel
Manhattan Beach, California

Pacifically Speaking

The cover story "Top Gun in the Pacific" (May/June 1987) was well-timed, instructive and long overdue. It is important to provide an international perspective on the arms control and disarmament debate. The Pacific has long been the site of U.S. and Soviet strategic weapons development and is an ideological battleground for nuclear war-fighting strategy.

Because the Pacific is large and the issues affecting its inhabitants are complex, few U.S. activists understand nuclear issues in the region, which is unfortunate. Hayes, Zarsky and Bello are first-rate researchers, and their work on the Pacific is valuable for all of us seeking explanations for the unrestrained strategic arms buildup by the Reagan administration.

Sebia Hawkins
Pacific Campaign Coordinator
Greenpeace
Washington, D.C.

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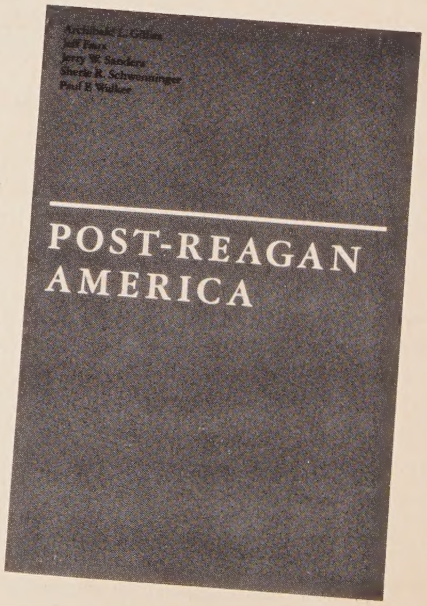

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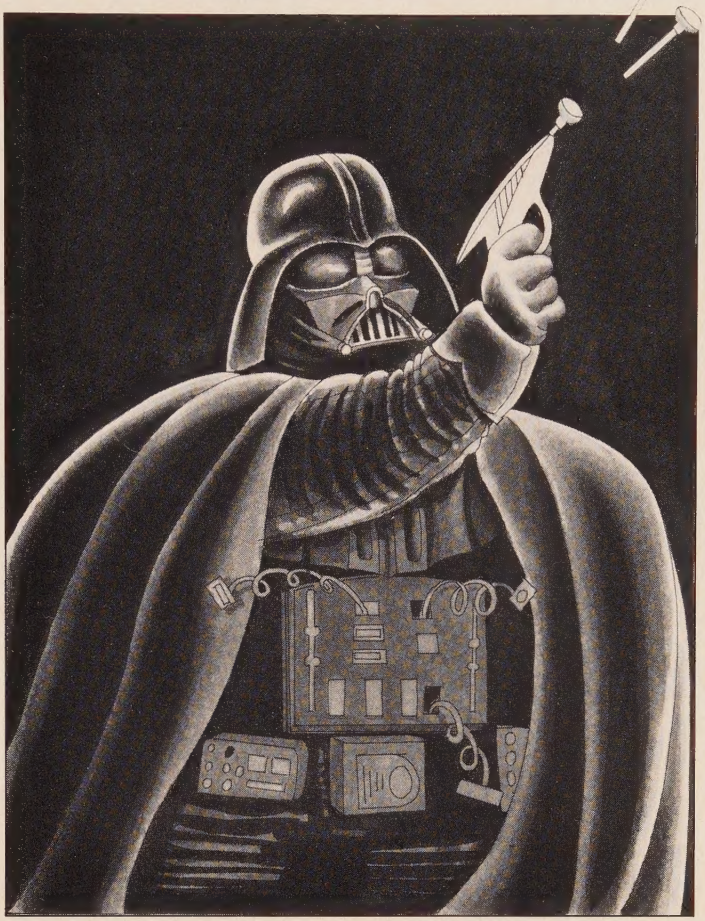
DISPATCHES

SHOOTING IN THE DARK



TWO RECENT STUDIES ASSESSING the Star Wars system have raised serious doubts about the proposed system's ability to destroy Soviet missiles before they reach U.S. territory.

In late April, a 17-member panel organized by the American Physical Society (APS), the country's largest professional society for physicists, issued a 424-page report indicating that so many breakthroughs are needed to develop laser and particle beam weapons for the costly space-based defensive system that it will take a decade or more of intensive research just to determine whether the job *can* be done.

After 18 months of study, during which the APS received full cooperation and classified briefings from the Department of Defense and the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO), panel members cited formidable technical obstacles in the way of producing useful weapons and concluded that the ability of a Star Wars system to survive attack upon it was "highly questionable."

The report said that the performance of many of the system's crucial technologies would have to improve by factors ranging from 100 to more than a million in some cases to be effective.

Reacting to the unfavorable APS assessment, Pentagon spokesman Robert B. Sims said, "Our objective is to deploy. We're optimistic rather than pessimistic, and that may be the difference between our reading of where we stand in the technology now and the American Physical Society's report."

The Pentagon offered no substantive critique of the APS study, acknowledging that it is probably the most detailed and credible examination of Star Wars technology to date. Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), an opponent of the program, said that the report provides "further evidence that the Reagan administration is more interested in rushing ahead with some kind of Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) deployments than it is in hard science or sound defense."

Although the APS panel did not address the issue of early deployment, it cautioned that no short-term system should be deployed with the expectation that lasers or particle beams will shore up the system later.

Early deployment has been pushed hard by administration officials. According to Attorney General Edwin Meese, early deployment is necessary to prevent the program from being "tampered with by future administrations."

The issue of early deployment was central to the April 8 report prepared by Douglas Waller and James T. Bruce, aides to Sens. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) and J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.), respectively. Their report was based on interviews with about 60 scientists working on the Star Wars program. During the course of their study, Waller and Bruce say they discovered a secret Pentagon program to develop a blueprint for early deployment of anti-missile systems in space.

Although the administration has said that it has deferred a decision to proceed with the early deployment of a Star Wars system, and although the Senate report's authors were told repeatedly by Pentagon officials that the goals of the research program were not being shifted to early deployment, Waller and Bruce learned that Star Wars managers were seeking proposals from contractors to do just that.

Scientists associated with Star Wars research acknowledged to Waller and Bruce that deploying anti-missile systems as early as 1994 would cost tens of billions of dollars, and would be effective against "no more than 16 percent" of the warheads in a Soviet attack. The Soviets are believed to have 9,764 missile warheads, which would leave 8,202 capable of slipping through the missile defense system. Even SDIO Director Lt. General James Abrahamson has testified that such a defense would primarily interfere with the"timing" and "structure" of a Soviet attack, and would not prevent it from occurring.

In a prepared statement issued in May, Star Wars officials said the Senate report "contains findings and conclusions that are inaccurate and do a great disservice to the thousands of individuals involved with SDI." SDI spokesman David Rigby, however, said he had "no rebuttal" to the assessment of how effective the near-term deployment would be.

The APS and Senate studies are only the two latest manifes-

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tations of opposition to SDI in the scientific community. As research on the feasibility of a space-based defense has grown, so has scientific skepticism of the Star Wars program:

- Two years ago, more than half of the members of the National Academy of Sciences and 57 American Nobel laureates signed a petition circulated by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) urging the United States and the Soviet Union to ban testing and deployment in space.
- In March 1986, a nationwide poll conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for UCS revealed that American physicists opposed Star Wars by a two to one margin.
- In May 1986, almost 7,000 scientists in the academic areas critical to the program had pledged not to accept Star Wars research funds. The scientists included 15 Nobel laureates and a majority of the university professors at the nation's top 20 physics departments. The following month, nearly 1,700 scientists and engineers at government and private research laboratories called on Congress to reduce SDI funding to a program of exploratory research, saying that a Star Wars shield was not feasible for the foreseeable future.
- In October 1986, a Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research survey of National Academy of Sciences members in disciplines most relevant to Star Wars research revealed that 98 percent felt that the program could not provide an "effective defense of the U.S. civilian population" if the Soviets employed countermeasures [see *NT*, May/June 1987, page 11].

—Jennifer Scarlott

NUCLEAR CLASSROOM

CELINA SAMUELS IS ONE of those clear-eyed 17-year-olds who isn't intimidated by adults. What does scare her though is the arms race and the world adults have made. Last year she decided to do something about it.

On May 2, after eight months of planning, 120 students from 25 private and public high schools across New England gathered at the Putney School in Vermont for a two-day conference on "Growing Up in the Nuclear Age." Although there have been a few city and statewide disarmament conferences for high school students, this was the first regional conference.

It wasn't a surprising project for Samuels to take on. Since the age of three she had been taught to put ideas into action.

With the help of two classmates and Rheua Stakely, an educational advisor, she signed up five co-sponsoring schools, helped train student facilitators to lead discussion groups, and contacted public and private high schools across northern New England. What she wanted was a student-organized conference where feelings and ideas for action could be shared.

"I haven't heard a lot from people my own age on what they think of the arms race," Samuels said in her welcoming remarks. "But I know many of them are numbed by it."

Her deepest concern is that the media teaches even preschoolers about nuclear destruction, but both teachers and students are left uninformed and unable to talk about it—creating a spiral of helplessness. She says that the arms race robs youth of a sense of security and the ability to dream, leading to disillusionment and surrender.

A comic sense of surrender was evident among other students at Putney who did not attend the conference. Through two days of meetings, a bed sheet painted with a mushroom cloud and the words "We Love It" hung from a building behind the assembly hall.

Dr. Eric Chivian, a 1985 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, told the students we are "barraged with images of nuclear destruction—in magazines, on television, in news headlines, and even comic books and candy wrappers—and it's not just in the U.S., it's in Europe too."

He said he was drawn into research on nuclear threats six years ago when he told his young son, "Wait until you have children and see how difficult it is to tell them to do something." His son replied that he wasn't going to have any children because there was going to be a nuclear war.

Roberta Snow, a Brookline, Massachusetts high school teacher, was alarmed by a similar attitude and questions about nuclear war raised by her students. Snow and Chivian interviewed children in Boston area schools and found the concern about nuclear war was wide-

Conference organizer Celina Samuels

© GRAHAM RIDLEY 1987

spread. She went on to found Educators for Social Responsibility.

Snow told the gathering that the problem is compounded by the fact that younger kids don't differentiate between conventional and nuclear war. Some believe that conflicts now going on in the world are nuclear, or soon will be. Others fear that aircraft they hear flying overhead at night are carrying nuclear weapons.

A number of surveys generally support Chivian and Snow's finding. A poll taken of 1,385 U.S. teenagers at the United Nations in April showed 38 percent believe that there is at least a 50 percent chance of nuclear war in their lifetime.

Paul VanDeCarr, the 18-year-old co-director of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, said he first became involved in disarmament work as a high school sophomore and said he thought young people would "change the world overnight." Over the next three years he said he learned how long change can take and the commitment it requires.

In the rough, beam-and-plaster assembly hall, students shared their concerns with the three speakers.

"Even if we stop the arms race, we still have the knowledge of nuclear technology. What's going to prevent it from being used?" one student asked. "We need a new system of ethics," another suggested. "We need trust. We can't make treaties if we don't trust the Russians and they don't trust us," a third student added. "We have to remember that it's not the weapons that are the issue,"

(Continued on page 10)

ACDA Director Kenneth Adelman has his reasons for saying no.

TAKING CREDIT

SOME OF THE REAGAN ADministration's arguments against negotiating with the Soviets on arms reductions are flabbergasting. The most recent simpleminded remark comes from Kenneth Adelman, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, as reported by the *City Paper*, a Washington, D.C. weekly.

Adelman had just returned from accompanying Secretary of State George Shultz on his much publicized spring trip to Moscow and was speaking to an undergraduate class at Georgetown University, his alma mater. He told the students that the United States should not negotiate on a Soviet proposal on short-range missiles in Europe. Why? Because the United States had made the same proposal five years ago, and Adelman does not want the Soviets to be able to take credit for *our* proposal.

"So, I'm sitting next to Shultz and I say *don't* agree to negotiate because [the Soviets] want to get credit for bringing it up to show on the world stage how peace-loving they are," Adelman said.

A student asked him to clarify his statement. She wanted to know why the United States would not agree to negotiate. "Is it just the credit that's important?" she asked.

"Yes!" Adelman replied.

When it comes to arms control, it sounds like Adelman has taken Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign to heart.

—Elliott Negin

STRATEGY FOR 1988 ELECTIONS

THE WORLD POLICY INstitute is utilizing the Madison Avenue concept of "focus groups" to inject its views of alternative security into the 1988 presidential elections.

Focus groups are used by advertising agencies to test consumer reaction to new products. In this case, WPI is testing voter reaction to its views on arms reductions, U.S.-Soviet relations, military spending, and the national economy. WPI will then take the information it gleans from the sessions and approach candidates who may be sympathetic to WPI political positions.

Many of the think tank's ideas are summarized in its new book, *Post-Reagan America*. The book argues that national security and prosperity can now be achieved only by economic development, not military muscle, and points to nonmilitary powers West Germany and Japan as prime examples. By comparison, the Reagan administration's emphasis on military spending and foreign intervention has undermined the U.S. economy.

In this context, the WPI analysis challenges prevailing concepts of deterrence, containment and military power and presents new, thought-provoking policy alternatives.

—Chris Riddiough

Post-Reagan America *is available for $8.95 plus $2.00 for postage and handling from WPI, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.*

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DISPATCHES

(Continued from page 9)
Chivian pointed out, "It's the relationships that are the issue."

The discussion moved back and forth over the enormity of the issue and how small steps need to be taken first. In a session with teachers who had accompanied the students, Roberta Snow cautioned them to take on projects such as cleaning up school bathrooms or sheltering the homeless along with teaching about the arms race to allow students to understand how things can change.

Toward the end of the conference one young woman stood up and challenged Celina Samuels, "So you've got a hundred teenagers here scared shitless, now what can we do about it?" Samuel pointed to the wall behind her.

Out of their group sessions the students covered the wall with 16 sheets filled with 60 or more suggestions on what could be done. Many wanted to form discussion groups, or hold similar forums in their own schools. The most common idea was to produce a newsletter to circulate to all the schools. The work to organize the conference had already established a network between the schools in the region and allowed the first region wide discussion among teenagers. What more will come remains to be seen. Infused with the excitement of two days of talking Samuels said, "A lot of seeds and dreams have been planted here this weekend. We don't know yet where they'll grow."

—Scott Ridley

For more information, contact the Students/Teachers Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-8305.

PEACE UP, DEFENSE STOCKS DOWN

IN ITS APRIL 27 ISSUE, *Defense News* noted that the recent decline in the value of defense industry stocks was due to "the fear of an outbreak of world peace."

In an article headlined "Fear of an Epidemic of World Peace Inhibits Investing in Defense Stocks," reporter Sharon Denny blamed stock price declines "of as much as 15 percent over the past two weeks" on "hope of an agreement on nuclear arms reductions between the United States and the Soviet Union, disappointing quarterly earnings. . . . and a continuation of the malaise that has stunted defense stock growth over the past several years." Sluggish stock prices were blamed on the cap Congress has put on the defense budget.

One Wall Street analyst told *Defense News* that "arms reductions probably are the heaviest straw now breaking the backs of many defense stocks."

Denny went on to report the investor debate over the likely impact of arms control on arms makers: "Defense bears believe that if the arms control talks do result in a reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe, Congress likely would be inspired to reduce defense spending to match the perceived relaxation of global tension."

But Denny went on to note that although the majority of investors are gloomy about arms control initiatives, there are some who believe there is a silver lining in this peace cloud: "On the other hand, defense bulls argue that if there is less reliance on nuclear forces in Europe, there will be greater dependence on tactical weapons that deliver 'less bang for the buck.' This, they believe, would increase military spending." And presumably improve the profit picture.

■ **Arms Maker Profits Above The Norm.** Although defense industry stocks may have suffered a decline as a result of a peace scare, profits for military contractors have been above the civilian norm. A study by the Department of Defense found that military contractors averaged 20.5 percent annually, while comparable civilian firms earned only 13.3 percent between 1980 and 1983.

■ **California Hogs Star Wars Money.** The Reagan administration has filled the Star Wars larder with $10.9 billion in research contracts. But it seems there's only room for a few at this pork barrel. A report issued by the American Federation of Scientists found that nearly half of the money earmarked for Star Wars contracts has gone to companies and laboratories in California. California firms captured a whopping 45.1 percent of total Star Wars spending. New Mexico, the second-largest beneficiary, managed to secure only 12.4 percent. Massachusetts was a third with 9 percent, and Alabama fourth with 6.1 percent.

—Robert Schaeffer

GORBACHEV OUT-POLLS REAGAN

RECENT PUBLIC OPINION polls show that Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev is more popular than Ronald Reagan in Western Europe.

In Great Britain, a Harris poll taken in May asked whom people trusted more, Reagan or Gorbachev. The Soviet leader out-scored Reagan, 34 to 24 percent.

An Italian state television poll conducted in April asked a similar question. Gorbachev came in far ahead.

And surveys in West Germany have had the same results. One poll in May by the Allensbach organization found that more West Germans believed that Gorbachev was "really concerned about peace" than Reagan by a margin of 49 to 46 percent.

A *Stern* magazine survey showed that 49 percent of West Germans chose Gorbachev as the leader who is "more concerned about the securing of peace and disarmament," while only 9 percent preferred Reagan.

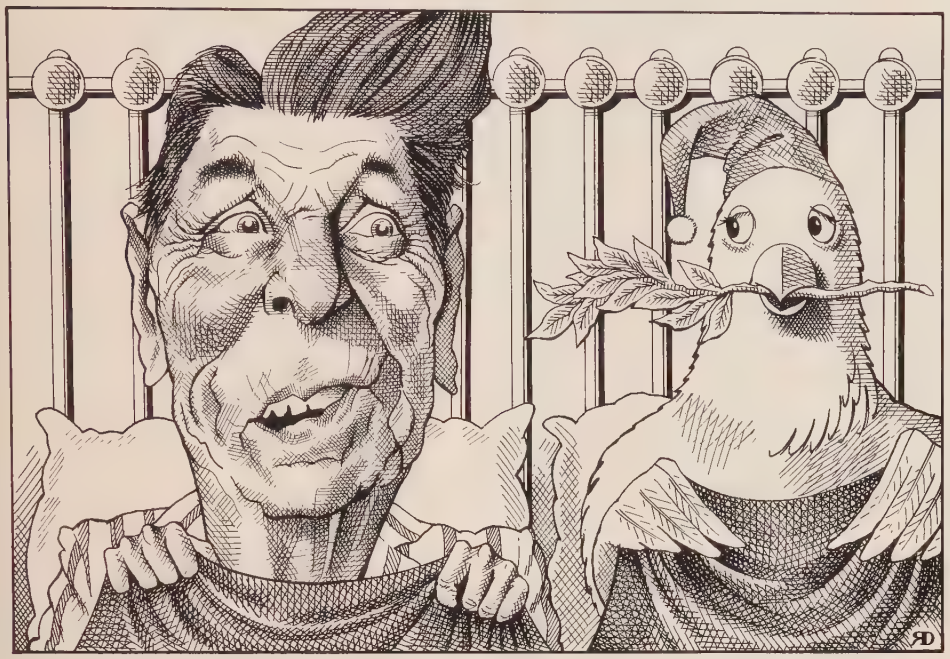
And for the first time in the post-World-War-Two period, West Germans gave a Soviet leader higher marks than a U.S. president, Gorbachev outscoring Reagan in a popularity poll conducted by *Der Spiegel.*

Gorbachev is also making inroads in the Middle East, where the Soviets are cultivating relations with Israel and Saudi Arabia, and in Latin America, where Gorbachev has increased trade and political ties to Argentina and Mexico. *—R.S.*

THE NATION/DAVID LEWIS

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

WILL REAGAN NEED THE PEACE MOVEMENT TO GET AN INF TREATY PAST THE SENATE?



The United States and the Soviet Union began talks last spring on reducing intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe. But the initial excitement about progress at these negotiations has faded. Even the most optimistic observers believe that it could take months to negotiate the details of an agreement to reduce or eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe. If the Reagan administration manages to overcome cabinet and NATO opposition and craft such a treaty, can it obtain Senate ratification?

The U.S. Senate has not ratified a major nuclear arms agreement since the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Two treaties limiting nuclear weapons testing, the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties, have languished in the Senate since they were negotiated more than a decade ago.

Throughout his term, Reagan has vilified arms control and the Soviet Union, insisting the "evil empire" can never be trusted to comply with any treaty. Some observers suggest that President Reagan has thus spent years creating the current opposition to INF.

In Congress, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) said the INF proposals left him cold. "The administration is coming at the problem from the wrong end," Aspin told a national television audience. "The most destabilizing weapons in Europe are the battlefield nukes that are right up on the front lines—the ones we would have to 'use or lose' in a crisis. Those are the weapons to eliminate first on both sides."

Ultraconservatives such as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) are expected to oppose any INF treaty on grounds that the Soviets cannot be trusted, and presidential candidate Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) has already publicly declared his opposition to any INF treaty. And an aide to Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) said, "We're not at all thrilled about the prospect of choosing sides on this."

Common Ground? On May 19, a small group of representatives from various peace groups—Physicians for Social Responsibility, Women' Action for Nuclear Disarmament, American Friends Service Committee, the American-Soviet Peace Walk, and SANE/Freeze—met with representatives of the White House Office of Public Liaison and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The two sides, which rarely agree on *anything*, found they could agree on one issue: support for an INF treaty. "We mentioned that if there is an INF agreement, the Reagan administration would need peace groups to get it through the Senate," explained SANE/Freeze Lobbyist Mark Harrison. "They suddenly perked right up and really paid attention."

WAND Assistant Political Director Fay Kelle agreed that the meeting opened some eyes. "We wanted the Reagan administration to realize that they will have to reach out to constituents of our groups and get our members to work for INF to get it passed," says Kelle.

But is there sufficient Senate opposition to INF to block ratification? Experienced Senate-watchers caution that although many senators are vocal in their opposition to an INF treaty, this does not necessarily mean that these same senators will vote against a treaty Reagan supports.

"Getting an INF treaty through the Senate will be akin to getting a hot knife through butter," says John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. "Most of the objections are noise, intended to scare the administration away from a treaty."

An INF Treaty signed and ratified under President Reagan could aid arms control for years to come. "INF has already shaken up the priesthood that surrounds nuclear policy—people who have spent a lifetime opposing arms control are pushing for this treaty," says David Cohen, president of the Professionals Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control. Cohen expects Reagan to get Senate approval of any INF treaty he submits, and thereby give the country something it never expected from Reagan: an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. "By starting the process again, Reagan would make it much easier for the next president to tackle other areas, like strategic arms control," Cohen says, "and that's why we should not be on the sidelines during this process."

Isaacs and Cohen agree that passing an INF treaty will not make Reagan a peace president, but it could inject new life into a nuclear arms reduction process that many feared was dead. □

David Lewis is a lobbyist for the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

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The Ultimate Threat to the Environment?

Should national environmental organizations work on disarmament and peace issues?

BY JEFF JOHNSON

In June, the Sierra Club's 410,000 members received a mail ballot asking them to vote on an issue that has long been a stone in the hiking boot of "the Club," as its friends like to call the nation's oldest environmental organization.

The issue is nuclear war. Or rather how great the Sierra Club's commitment to opposing nuclear war should be.

The resolution specifically earmarks 1 percent, or $150,000, of the Sierra Club's yearly membership income to lobby and campaign for "preventing nuclear war/ending the arms race." The Club annually spends this amount on each of a half-dozen "national priority" campaigns.

The vote is the result of a petition drive by a minority of Club members who are attempting to side-step the board of directors and force the Club to commit resources and assign a full-time lobbyist to work on this thorny issue.

The issue is not a new one for the organization. Since 1969, when it opposed nuclear bomb tests in Alaska, the Sierra Club has publically opposed nuclear weapons. In fact, within the last few years the Club has made the issue a priority. Its efforts, however, have consisted of occasional mailings and infrequent lobbying. The group has never put its full weight behind a concerted campaign. And now a growing number of members want to do more.

For philosophical, environmental and even spiritual reasons, activists in the Club and other environmental organizations are picking up the peace banner, especially at the local level. Some believe that environmentalists could fill voids within the national peace and disarmament movement, others argue that a union between peace and environmental activists is a logical development, while others say the disarmament movement's strategy of lobbying for test bans and arms control is bankrupt and that it should adopt other ways to effect change.

The Sierra Club's vote may be a barometer of the environmental community's willingness to embrace peace issues. And its outcome may shape the kind of relationship the peace and environmental movements—clearly two of the largest progressive movements in the United States today—will have in the future. But it is doubtful the vote will put the issue to rest.

The Sierra Club controversy may beg the question: Does it make sense for the Club, or any national environmental group for that matter, to move onto the peace movement's turf?

Two staff members of national peace organizations wondered aloud—and anonymously—if the peace movement needs the environmental movement right now. In their view the peace movement seems strong, well-funded and is doing well on its own. Environmentalists, they believe, already have their hands full with a federal administration unwilling to enforce environmental laws and industries crying for greater access to natural resources.

Moreover, representatives from most environmental groups, such as the National Audubon Society and the National Wildlife Federation, are wary of moving in the direction the Sierra Club is considering. They defended their organizations' refusal to go beyond endorsing disarmament policy statements.

"There is actually a counter-pressure," said Jan Beyea, an Audubon senior staff scientist. "Peace groups ignore issues that we place a high priority on—habitat preservation and wildlife protection—and so there is pressure put on us to stick with what no one else does.

"One big movement is doomed to failure. We all operate as individuals. I may do work on disarmament issues and someone else may do work on habitat, but this does not imply people should adopt a group-love approach.

"People in the environmental movement should be reminded that they should be working on peace issues—as individuals, not as groups," Beyea said.

Agreeing but disagreeing was David Lewis, legislative director for the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

"On the local level [peace and environmental groups] do work together if for no other reason then because it's often the same people in both groups," he said. "But the Sierra Club has activists in districts where a lot of peace groups do not have much strength, and activitists in those areas could make a difference. On a lot of [disarmament] votes, the margin is very small.

"The Sierra Club is an amazing organization. It has a wealth of resources. It has contact with an enormous number of people and a great set-up here in Washington," he said. "A Sierra Club staff person working with us could be an incredible help."

Peace On and With the Earth

One of the chief proponents of making nuclear war issues a Sierra Club priority is David Brower, the silver-haired, 74-year-old sage of the environmental movement.

"Nuclear war is the ultimate environmental threat to the Earth," declared Brower, speaking from his home in Berkeley, California. "If we don't have peace on and with the Earth soon,"he said, "then the two movements better get together or we are going to have neither."

Jeff Johnson is a reporter in Washington, D.C.

Brower, who minces few words in his support for the Sierra Club resolution on nuclear weapons, was the only board member to sign a statement supporting it.

"The Club has good policies: It wants to reduce funding for Star Wars, wants to get a comprehensive test ban treaty through, it doesn't want destabilizing weapons," Brower explained. "It has a good many policies, but until this is put in a priority list and gets staff time and publications, its 400,000 members won't have a chance to mobilize."

Brower concluded by citing the battle over Jimmy Carter's plan to deploy the MX missile in the Southwest in late 1970s as a prime example of how a unified front can win. The Sierra Club and other national and local environmental groups together with disarmament organizations and a range of citizen's groups could all agree on one thing—no MX missile.

Fighting the MX

Chad Dobson, co-director of the National Campaign to Stop the MX, coordinated the efforts of organizations from the disarmament and environmental movements.

Dobson, a psychologist by training, is from Utah. He now works in Washington, D.C., as a consultant to groups on peace and international environmental issues.

Looking back, Dobson called Carter's plan to deploy missiles on trucks constantly shuttling around Nevada and Utah an "absolutely off-the-wall thing that no one could buy except a general in Washington. These states did not vote for Carter and as far as he was concerned there was nothing out there."

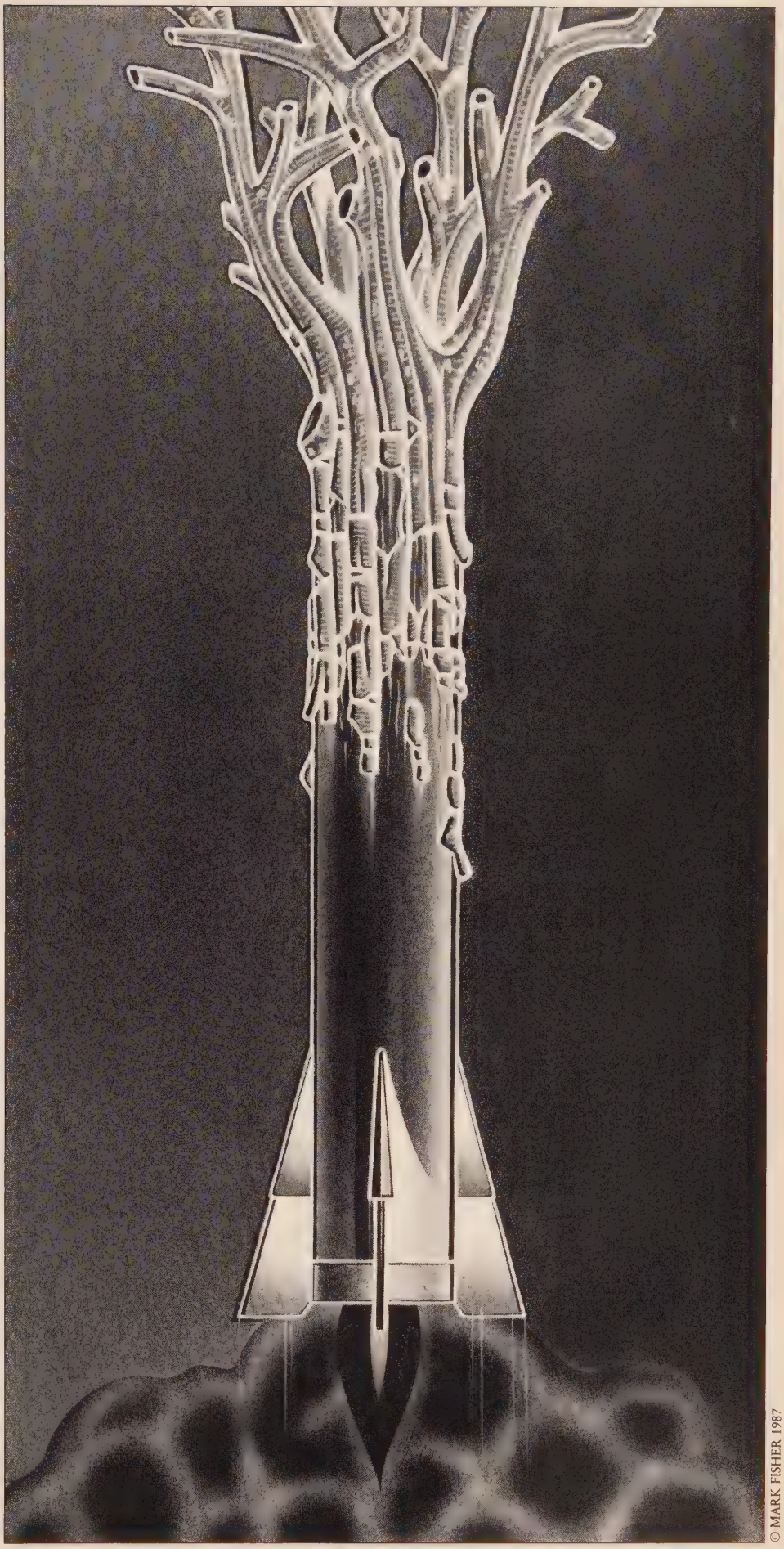
Despite the craziness of this teamster's dream, Utah's Democratic Governor Scott Matheson supported the plan.

Dobson was working at a television station when he obtained a map laying out the details of the MX-basing plan.

"Looking at the map, everything that wasn't a mountain was going to be a missile race track," he recalled. "To get environmentalists on board, all you had to do was send them a map.

"Environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and FOE saw [the MX campaign] as a land-use issue," he said. "We put together a coalition of native Americans, women's organizations, cattleman, ranchers, peace people, and environmentalists. We got to know each other."

The coalition learned from military briefing reports that the water necessary to make the tons of concrete would drain the arid state dry. "They had no idea where the water was going to come from," Dobson continued. "It hit Indians, ranchers, anyone



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concerned about losing water and land, but the clincher was when the Mormon Church came out against it.

"We looked at early church teachings, about the land growing and becoming beautiful, but instead [Utah and Nevada] had become dumping grounds for the military-industrial complex. The church didn't move out here to take the place and turn it into a dumpsite.

"Then, in an Easter message the Mormon Church came out against the weapons system. Matheson turned around too."

It was a two-year fight, Dobson said, and its success depended not only on support from environmental and peace groups, but also on local political leaders who could make connections between issues such as spending for war and spending for day care, which were necessary to bring in groups less directly affected by MX deployment.

'People in the environmental movement should be working on peace issues as individuals, not as groups.'

For Dobson the MX campaign demonstrates what he calls the "trickle-up theory" in which national groups such as the Sierra Club agree to support a campaign only their local activists become deeply involved.

Homeporting

The success of the MX campaign is not lost on Anne H. Ehrlich, author, Stanford University biologist and chairwoman of the Sierra Club's National Committee on the Environmental Impacts of Warfare.

Ehrlich does not support the resolution mandating the anti-nuclear-weapons lobby because it goes outside the normal priority-setting process. But she adds that it would be "lovely" to have the money "awarded" to the anti-weapons campaign if it is seen as "necessary and there were useful places to put it."

Listening to Ehrlich speak, one hears Dobson's trickle-up theory working its way through the Sierra Club over "homeporting," the U.S. Navy's plan to base nuclear-weapon-carrying ships at 13 ports around the country.

Ehrlich said local chapters have been "bombarding" her committee with material explaining the issue and seeking support, an effort she applauds.

"There is room in the whole system to bring in the environmental arguments on peace," Ehrlich said.

One of the Navy's planned nuclear weapons homeports is Staten Island in New York City, where Shira Flax, a marketing analyst for an asbestos abatement company, lives.

Flax first became active with the Sierra Club in opposing the Navy's plan, and now she is the Club's volunteer, anti-nuclear weapons lobbyist. She occasionally works with members of the Professionals Coalition, an organization of Washington, D.C. groups, which includes representatives of Physicians for Social Responsiblity, Federation of American Scientists, Educators for Social Responsibility (PSR), Union of Concerned Scientists, Common Cause and others that lobby on peace issues. Because the Sierra Club is not a member of the Professionals Coalition, Flax says she usually works through coalition organizations.

Flax, like David Lewis of PSR, believes that the Club's influence with Southern Democrats and moderate New England Republicans, whom she says are not normally part of the peace movement, is strong.

"On Hatfield-Kennedy [test ban legislation], we have a board member calling [Sen. Robert] Packwood's (R-Ore.) office, another calling senators from Florida, we're networking with other Club activists," she said. "We've talked to congressional representatives from some parts of the country who tell us this is the first time they have had extensive talks with arms controllers.

Several years ago, Flax said, broad coalitions made up of community groups, local environmental and peace organizations, and some labor unions began working to stop homeporting in areas near large cities, such as Everett, Washington, San Francisco and New York City. She said people were worried about bay pollution from harbor dredging projects, the effects that paints and sand-blasting materials used on ships could have on sea life, as well as the problems inherent in storing nuclear weapons in cities that millions of people call home.

But Flax said organizing was restricted to West and East Coast cities, and little attention was paid to other homeport areas in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Texas—until a few months ago.

"The Sierra Club people in those areas were worried about taking this on—it makes them out as being too leftist," Flax said. "But they are good citizens. They testified at hearings. They pointed out the environmental problems from the paints, the dredging wastes, and the coastal management mitigation efforts they feel are inadequate. And they are very concerned that the Navy hasn't addressed the possibility of nuclear hazards.

"Sierra Club members took a low profile [and] asked for an adequate environmental impact statement. They wrote letters, which they expected the Navy to answer. But the Navy feels it can come in and walk all over people, and it really antagonized our members."

Flax pointed out that a similar situation developed last year when Sierra Club members in Ohio complained about severe contamination problems at Department of Energy (DOE) nuclear weapons production facilities in Ohio.

"Oddly enough, no environmental or peace groups seem to be mobilizing members around this," Flax said.

Both the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and the Environmental Policy Institute (EPI) have supplied technical support by suing and providing expert testimony concerning these facilities' violations of environmental law, she said. But neither organization has a membership base.

"We're trying to get the Sierra Club with its ability to do constituency work with Congress to get involved in this," Flax added.

New and Strange Alliances

Like the MX basing plan in Utah and Nevada nearly a decade ago, Reagan's military buildup over the last six years has made many enemies in different parts of the country.

Along with attempting to provide new ports to base nuclear-weapon-carrying ships, the president's attempt to revive dilapidated DOE nuclear reactors shut down 20 years ago has generated concern and anger from a range of opponents—environmentalists, community activists, labor unions and peace groups. But according to Robert Alvarez, director of the Environmental Policy Institute's Nuclear Project, none of the national peace or environmental organizations have taken on the administration's plan in any coherent way.

Alvarez noted that a few environmental organizations such as Greenpeace and NRDC have tried to put together coalitions to look at environmentally unsound DOE weapons-making facilities. But most of the activities have come from local groups near facilities that produce plutonium, highly enriched uranium and tritium at places such as the Feed Material Production Cen-

ter at Fernald, Ohio; the Savannah River Plant near Aiken, South Carolina; the Hanford facility in eastern Washington; and the Oak Ridge Reservation in Tennessee.

Alvarez talks of "potentially new and strange alliances" between labor unions, environmentalists, and church, community and peace groups that have taken place in locations where arms control advocates have made few inroads in the past—southern Ohio, South Carolina, Utah, Nevada and eastern Washington.

He points to a one-day strike at Fernald, where unions and environmentalists were able to work together, as an example of such an alliance. He now works with Atomic Trade Labor Council leaders at Oak Ridge who, he said, "10 years ago would have kicked my ass if they saw me walking down the street."

While he worries that both peace activists and environmentalists are missing an opportunity to halt environmental pollution and curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons, he reserves most of his criticism for the peace and disarmament movement.

"There is an implied consensus between the arms control advocates and the nuclear weapons industry in this country," Alvarez said, "that the dangers of nuclear weapons production and development in times of peace are negligible and should not be included in arms control objectives. The record shows this is dead wrong."

Over the last year, due to dangerous operating conditions, leaks into soil and groundwater, and other problems, DOE has shut down its plutonium generating reactor at Hanford, halved plutonium production at Savannah River, and closed four research reactors at Oak Ridge. DOE has also been lambasted by Congress, the General Accounting Office and the National Academy of Sciences for conditions at its weapons production facilities.

The problem of hazardous waste at DOE and Department of Defense (DOD) plants is enormous. At one site, Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado, the DOD is investigating 224 hazardous waste sites, each of which may be as dangerous as sites on the commercial Superfund list.

Overall, the DOD estimates that cleanup of closed hazardous waste sites could cost $10 billion, which critics say is a conservative figure. DOE officials say a partial cleanup at Hanford alone could top $17 billion. By comparison, Congress, over Reagan's strong objections, set aside $10 billion for cleanups at non-federal sites under Superfund's five-year program.

Despite suits, environmental laws and angry members of Congress, DOE—with Justice Department support—has fought to limit the Environmental Protection Agency's and state regulators' power to enforce environmental laws at its facilities. Both in this session of Congress and the last, bills have been introduced to require DOE to comply with federal environmental laws.

DOE's historic position that nuclear weapons production cannot be regulated by any other agency, coupled with Reagan's decision to reopen antiquated reactors, has focused greater attention on DOE facilities.

"We're talking about 1950s-era reactors that have not undergone any significant upgrading," Alvarez said. "What you are seeing today is Congress cutting back on the Reagan agenda, not for arms control reasons, but for economic reasons.

'If the Sierra Club's mission is to preserve the Earth, it should address the single most phenomenal threat.'

"Last year, for the first time since 1980, Congress actually cut nuclear weapons production spending in order to enhance nuclear waste cleanup. Hanford's plutonium production operation has been shut down over health and safety issues and Congress is debating whether Hanford should be producing plutonium at all."

Alvarez estimates that for every dollar spent producing nuclear weapons, 43 cents is spent managing its nuclear waste.

He urges organizing around this environmental issue and making sure it is clear that the "true costs" of U.S. weapons production are identified—the increased environmental dangers and health risks, and the money spent to clean it up.

"This is a way for ordinary citizens to have control over this industry in ways that actually have a limiting effect on the program. It's not tied to the Cold War dynamic. We are talking about environmental safety and health. We're not talking about relationships between the Soviet Union and the United States, but relationships between a government and its citizens."

No fan of electoral politics, Alvarez called faith in electing a "good guy to run the country about the same as a roll of the dice" and sending letters on arms control to Congress "about the same as sending something into a black hole."

Anti-DOE Coalitions

Alvarez pointed to a collage of local groups and chapters of national organizations that organized around DOE production sites.

Some groups, such as the Hanford [Washington] Education Action League (HEAL) provide strictly educational information, believing as Larry Shook, a HEAL spokesman put it, "These are matters to be decided in the democratic process by the public." HEAL's three-person staff works full-time running public forums, filing freedom of information act requests, and doing research to make the public more aware of DOE's operations.

Other groups are more advocacy oriented. The Energy Research Foundation, located in South Carolina near the DOE's Savannah River Plant, has filed law suits in conjunction with the NRDC, the Georgia Conservancy and the League of Women Voters to force the facility to comply with federal laws.

Frances Hart, who founded the Energy Research Foundation in 1980, warns that DOE is seeking funds to build a new production reactor to generate plutonium and tritium, which would be built to more rigid environmental specifications. She said South Carolina politicians want the plant because it would create new jobs with higher wages.

"There are few unions in the area and few jobs," she said. Her organization gets little support from the people living near the facility.

She stresses that her group walks a narrow line in South Carolina.

"We are just an environmental group. We're not against nuclear war per se; we just don't like the mess they make when they make the bombs," she added with a quiet chuckle. "Does that make sense or not? It does if you live in South Carolina."

The "Issue" Marketplace

Steve Rauh, longtime Sierra Club activist and editor of the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter's monthly newspaper, the *Yodeler*, is one of the primary movers in the petition drive to get the Club's board to assign full funding to the anti-nuclear arms program. He compares environmentalists who do not address the environmental consequences of militarism with economists who conduct cost-benefit analyses of nuclear energy without considering the costs of high-level nuclear waste disposal.

"If the Sierra Club's mission is to preserve the Earth, and it doesn't address the

(Continued on page 23)

A Passion for Facts

BY ROBERT SCHAEFFER

When Vivienne Verdon-Roe received an Academy Award nomination last February for *Women—For America, For the World*, her half-hour documentary about women's views on the threat of nuclear war, she first asked herself "What am I going to wear?" and then, "What am I going to say if I win?"

Rummaging through the back of her closet, Verdon-Roe found an old black dress. She then bought $27 worth of rhinestones and sewed them around the neckline. *Voilà!* a bargain-basement dress that looked like a million bucks.

The speech was more difficult. The words would be easy, but speaking to an audience of one billion people—one-fifth of the world's population—was another matter. For the 37-year-old Verdon-Roe, who used to stutter in high school, the prospect was daunting. "My idea of hell on earth was public speaking," she confessed one week before the awards ceremony.

Verdon-Roe had been under the same pressure before. In 1983 she and co-producers Ian and Eric Thiermann received an Oscar nomination for her first film, *In the Nuclear Shadow: What Can the Children Tell Us?*. The film, however, did not win.

In *Women*, Verdon-Roe trained her camera on women who actively oppose the arms race. In a memorable segment, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Vice-President Addie Wyatt explains why she thought women should speak out against nuclear war: "We conceive the nation in our bodies. In pain and suffering we grunt the nation into being. We nurse it and we nurture it. It certainly is our responsiblity to help decide which way the nation goes."

Women, like *Shadow*, is a passionate film peppered with facts. Between on-screen interviews, Verdon-Roe inserted charts, graphs and other visuals to illustrate such facts as: "10,000 American children die each year from poverty" or "Between 1981 and 1983, Boeing and Lockheed made profits of more than $1 billion each. They paid no taxes."

Facts are important, Verdon-Roe says, "to strike a balance between common sense and compassion." She's learned that without facts at your fingertips it is difficult to get people to take you seriously, a problem that is particularly acute for women in this field.

"When I do radio interviews I try to drop three substantial facts at the beginning of the interview to establish my credibility. That way the interviewer doesn't say, 'My, my. You do sound rather emotional about this issue,'" she explains. Having established a command of the facts, she can then go on to speak passionately about the issue. She has applied this approach to her films and to her conversation. After telling an anecdote she will stop, supply a pertinent fact, and move on.

Fact: Hundreds of People Funded the Making of *Women—For America, For the World*

Making a film is an expensive proposition. Although Hollywood moguls are eager to invest millions of dollars in a Steven Spielberg project, they are less interested in funding documentary films. A film like *Women* could never generate the kind of profits that *Jaws* did.

When she set out to make *Women*, Verdon-Roe realized she would have to rely on her own resourcefulness and on other people's resources. She wrote 50 different foundations asking for money. All of them said no. Except one. The George Gund Foundation, "Bless their cotton socks," gave her $10,000, about one-fifth of what the film would eventually cost.

Taking a page from the Tupperware sales manual, she found a way to finance the rest: "I called 10 friends and asked them to throw a house party and invite *their* friends," she explains. "Then I'd go and show them some of my previous films, actually videos, and make a pitch. Something happens when you get 20 people in a room, show them something inspiring and then get them to talk about it. After editing all day, I'd be exhausted by the time I got to the party. But by the time I left I'd be so excited I'd sing all the way home."

Verdon-Roe raised $30,000 from 1,500

Robert Schaeffer is senior editor of Nuclear Times.

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contributors at a series of house parties in the San Francisco Bay Area. "It's really their film," she says gratefully of her grassroots financiers.

Fact: Before 1982, Verdon-Roe Knew Nothing About Filmmaking or Nuclear Issues.

Trained as a high school teacher in her native country of England, Verdon-Roe moved to the United States in 1976. She settled in the San Francisco Bay Area and founded a local environmental newsletter.

Appropriately, it was a film that first piqued her interest in the disarmament movement and led her to a career making films on the issue. In 1982 she saw *The Last Epidemic,* a film on the medical consequences of nuclear war, and the day after she called the Freeze campaign to ask what she could do. Coincidentally, the Freeze was opening an office in Oakland that very day and needed volunteers, office supplies and even office furniture.

"I took a chair with a red velvet seat, a pad of paper and a bunch of pencils," she recalls. "At a hole-in-the-wall office I met six other women who had also brought chairs, paper pads and pencils. That's how we got started. We started manning, or I should say, 'wo-manning' the office."

Devoting herself full time to work with the Freeze, Verdon-Roe began to wonder whether children worried about nuclear war as much as adults. Using a questionnaire developed by John Mack, a psychologist at Harvard, she began interviewing children at playgrounds and schools in the Bay Area and published the results in *East-West Journal.* This article prompted the phone call that would lead her to Hollywood and the Academy Awards.

After reading about her work with children, *The Last Epidemic* producer Ian Thiermann contacted Verdon-Roe and asked her if she wanted to make a film based on her research. She agreed and began an association with Thiermann, a man she fondly describes as "a Quaker who swears," and his son Eric that would produce four films, two nominated for Oscars, in the next four years (*In the Nuclear Shadow, The Edge of History, What About the Russians?* and *Women—For America, For the World).*

Freeze activist Vivienne Verdon-Roe makes peace documentaries with a passion. Her latest film, which focuses on women in the disarmament movement, won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Subject.

In her first film with the Thiermanns, Verdon-Roe conducted the interviews and the father-son team worked the camera and lights. In this and subsequent films, Verdon-Roe played an important but unobtrusive role.

"Being an interviewer means having a lot of respect for the people you interview. I want to know what they're feeling about the subject, not just what they know, and this requires them to trust me," she said of her method, which results in candid, passionate remarks from her subjects. No Mike Wallace she. Nor, for that matter, Barbara Walters. She is more like Studs Terkel, who quietly secures frank confessions from everyday folks.

After compiling 12 hours of video tape for *Women,* Verdon-Roe alone faced the task of cutting it down to 25 minutes. "I decided that no one was going to touch this except me," she said. With the Thiermanns' help she learned how to edit and put together a finished film and became an accomplished "Jill-of-all-trades."

Fact: In 1985, 243 Public Television Stations Aired One of Verdon-Roe's Films.

As anyone who has watched the Academy Awards knows, documentary short subjects, animated shorts or even foreign films are not usually shown at neighborhood multiplex cinemas.

Verdon-Roe and Ian Thiermann realized that they would have to develop an effective distribution network if anyone was going to see their films. So they organized the Educational Film and Video Project (EFVP) to distribute their films and the work of other documentary filmmakers. During a visit to *Nuclear Times'* office, Verdon-Roe pulled from her briefcase—which is neatly crammed with lists of organizations, questionnaires and study guides for high school students, an Oscar acceptance speech, and an assortment of pamphlets, publications and pens—an EFVP organizing kit describing how to get nuclear-issue films on television. When she is on tour, as she has been for the past two months, she hands them out like popcorn at a matinee. And it works. Public and cable TV stations around the country are airing films from the EFVP catalog.

In addition to television, Verdon-Roe and her colleagues at EFVP try to get people to show their videos to friends at home. "The VCR explosion has been the boon of our lives," she says. "It has been wonderful the way people get together to view videos on their VCRs. We've found that this kind of activity often leads to action and sustained involvement. It's a great way to change public opinion."

Verdon-Roe rarely misses an opportunity to show her films. Any VCR will do. Even one at 36,000 feet.

As a member of the Women for a Meaningful Summit delegation traveling to the 1986 superpower summit in Geneva, Verdon-Roe and her companions canvassed the passengers and petitioned the crew aboard their transatlantic flight to show *Women-For America, For the World* after the in-flight movie. She just happened to be carrying a copy. After this salutary lesson in participatory democracy, the crew agreed.

Verdon-Roe believes strongly in the ability of film to move people emotionally and politically. "I'm making films today because a film I saw moved me," she explains. She seeks to achieve the same result with her own films.

But Verdon-Roe's ideas about *how* to move people have changed over the years. Her first films were intense and serious, made with worried conviction. Her latest film is more upbeat about what can be done today and more optimistic about the future. This reflects her own journey within the disarmament movement.

"The sequence of my films is my own sequence," she explains. "People in the movement portray their work as terribly serious. I did at first. I remember I felt pretty fatalistic after seeing *The Last Epidemic*. But I think as you work in the movement and grow more confident, as I have, you become more relaxed, looser, more open to humor. Humor can be a very good way to break down psychic numbing. It can lead to laughter or to tears."

Although she is unlikely to make roll-in-the-aisles disarmament movies, Verdon-Roe says that "I'd be intrigued to use humor in my next film."

Verdon-Roe's journey from doom-and-gloom filmmaking to video mirth-making, though not complete, was made possible by the support she received from activists in the movement. "I'm very lucky," she says. "I get a lot of strokes from people I meet. I don't think people should get involved in the movement to stop nuclear war for their own personal growth. But in my case, I've grown a lot as a result of involvement. It's been fun."

The recognition that comes from Oscar nominations have also contributed to this process. With Hollywood's seal of approval, Verdon-Roe has been able to take her films to people who otherwise might not see them. The nominations are both "a wonderful confirmation of grassroots political activity," giving her work mainstream legitimacy, and an organizing tool that can be used without embarrassment by the vivacious Verdon-Roe. At a luncheon for Oscar nominees, she buttonholed Gregory Peck and convinced him to see her film. "You have to ask," she explained, saying that a few years ago "I never would have had the nerve."

The promotion of grassroots films has steadied Verdon-Roe's nerve. Prior to Oscar night, the academy warned participants not to indulge in "political" speeches. Forget that you have an opportunity to present your cause to one billion people. Thank your mom instead. Verdon-Roe would have none of that. In the event she won, Verdon-Roe drafted a speech composed of passion and facts: "I'd never forgive myself if I didn't—and hoped for the best.

Fact: For Luck She Named Her Newly Acquired Sheep Dog Puppy 'Oscar.'

On March 30, *Room With a View* star Helen Bonham Carter tore open the envelope and announced that *Women—For America, For the World*, Vivienne Verdon-Roe producer, had won the Oscar for Best Documentary Short Subject.

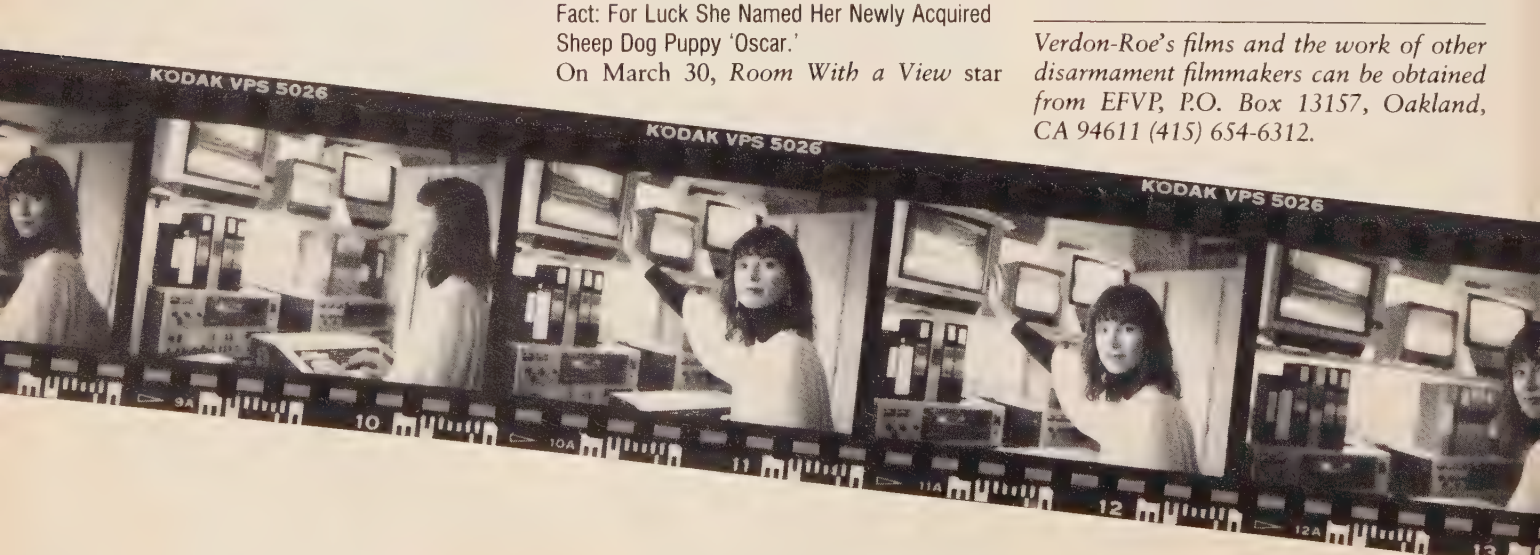
Verdon-Roe hurried to the podium in her glittering dress. She thanked the academy for its "recognition of all the people who have worked so hard to stop nuclear war," inserted a few political facts into the evening's proceedings— "Not one person on earth would have to go hungry if we spent just four days of world military spending [on the problem]"—and accepted the award "on behalf of all the women in this film and all the courageous people who speak up for true security, for our country and for the world."

Her 103 words, delivered smoothly, with measured passion, fit neatly into the time slot allotted to winners. The audience interrupted her with strong applause.

A week later, I talked with Verdon-Roe again. Asked to explain why she thought she won, she said, "I think the academy, like the rest of country, is waking up and abandoning their false pride. Under the Reagan administration, which has legitimized greed and neglected need, we've been living with a lot of illusions, which Hollywood helped to create. But I think this is changing." She pointed out that the academy honored anti-war films such as *Platoon* and *The Assault* and films championing the disadvantaged: *Children of a Lesser God* and *Down and Out in America*.

Perhaps the film industry is changing. At the end of the awards ceremony, Verdon-Roe joined other Oscar winners on stage. She stood next to Bette Davis and Academy President Robert Wise. As the applause swelled, Wise turned to Verdon-Roe and said, "Thank you for giving one of the most significant speeches of the evening." □

Verdon-Roe's films and the work of other disarmament filmmakers can be obtained from EFVP, P.O. Box 13157, Oakland, CA 94611 (415) 654-6312.



Women's Work

Women are the backbone of the peace and disarmament movement—a movement that is challenging the policies that exclude women from decision-making roles in foreign and military affairs.

BY RENATA RIZZO-HARVI

Political power in our society has been wielded exclusively by men. It was not until 144 years after the revolution that women were granted the right to vote in federal elections. And for all the gains that women have made since getting the vote, they still are woefully under-represented in Congress. Only 109 women have served in the U.S. House of Representatives, while just 16 women have been elected to the Senate. In fact, the highest office any American woman has ever attained has been in another country. Golda Meir, a school teacher from Milwaukee, was the Israeli prime minister 15 years ago.

Women *have* served in appointed positions in the federal government. But most, if not all of these positions have been linked to domestic affairs encompassing family, health, consumer and environmental issues—the stereotyped preserve of "nurturing" women. Military and foreign policy, on the other hand, has always been hammered out in smoke-filled back rooms without "ladies" present. No woman has ever served as Secretary of State or Secretary of Defense.

The disarmament movement that burst onto the political scene five years ago, unlike the ban-the-bomb movement of the early 1960s or the anti-Vietnam War movement, has challenged the discriminatory policies that have excluded women from decision-making roles in military and foreign policy. And unlike those earlier movements or current movements concerned with civil rights or the environment, the peace movement of the 1980s has spawned a number of national and local *women's* organizations. These groups are working to raise the visibility and increase the clout of hundreds of qualified women in government, academia and the arms control/peace movement. They have also stepped up efforts to address the effects of a swollen military budget on social services, a concern that is widening to include more work on worldwide economic and social development.

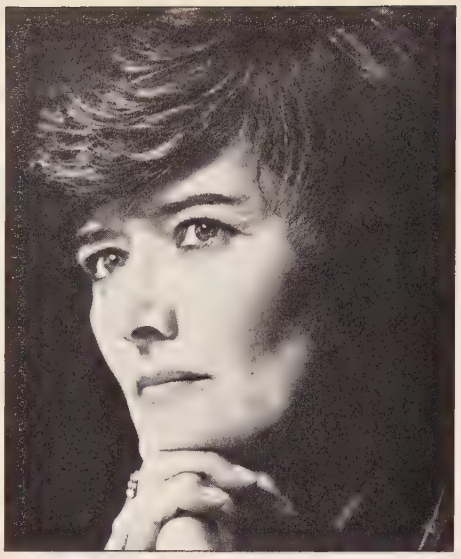
"What we're beginning to see," says Pam Solo, co-director of the Institute for Peace and International Security in Cambridge, Massachusetts, "is the rise of a wave of deeply informed women who are in touch with each other nationally and internationally, and who, in the next five years, will have an impact."

Boys Town

The seven-year reign of the New Right in Washington has bolstered the military's image and created an atmosphere conducive to overt sexism. This has made it that much more difficult for women to participate in the arms control debate. Witness former White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan's infamous remark doubting women's ability to understand the concept of throw weight, or former Nevada senator Paul Laxalt's observation that, for all of

Renata Rizzo-Harvi is a contributing editor of Nuclear Times.

Democratic Rep. Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, now in her fifteenth year as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, has been cancelled repeatedly by national network news shows at the last minute when producers found men to replace her.



Nancy Reagan's concern about arms control, she did not know the difference between an ICBM and a cruise missile.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), currently in her fifteenth year as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, says the prevailing attitudes towards women undercut her credibility on arms issues. On several occasions, she has been scheduled to appear on network news shows to discuss arms control, only to be cancelled at the last minute when the producer found a man to replace her.

"It angers me," Schroeder says, "because I get artificially pegged. People say, 'All we ever hear from you is about day care and family policy.' Those are very important and of course I'm going to keep working on them, but damn it, I've been out front [on arms control]—half the legislation is mine—and I have to step aside and let the boys talk about it. The only woman who is allowed to discuss [arms control] is Jeane Kirkpatrick."

The "old boy" network has spurred women to undertake a number of new initiatives. The Women's Foreign Policy Council, started in 1985 to make women more visible as foreign policymakers, recently published a directory listing 275 women in government, the United Nations, academia, religious institutions, the media and the peace movement who are active in the field. "This trotting out of the 'wise men' has angered me for years," says Mim Kelber, who co-directs the council with former congresswoman Bella Abzug. "We hope that the directory will raise the profiles of women as experts who can then propose some rational alternative policies."

Mixed-gender movement groups are also taking an active role in creating a new forum that includes women. Anne Cahn, director of the Committee for National Security (CNS) has organized 14 leadership conferences for women on national security issues. CNS, in a joint project with the Center for Defense Information (CDI), also holds regular breakfast briefings for women journalists. The briefers are all women. "We have to get the media to realize that there *are* articulate women out there," Cahn says.

Cahn, Kelber and dozens of other women working to cultivate an "old girl" network believe that enhanced visibility, recognition and, ultimately, power, for women will result in more humane military policies. "We can't guarantee that women will speak in one voice," says Kelber, "but the trend is obvious and the trend is pro-peace."

With only 25 women currently in Congress and far fewer in other prominent government positions, it is difficult to project what impact a "critical mass" of women—defined loosely as at least as many as men—would have on Capitol Hill. But several research projects are now looking at how women officials have affected municipal and state governments, two places where they have steadily gained ground over the last 20 years. The Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University has recently launched such a study and plans to publish the results in three years. Although no conclusive data is yet available, "off the bat I can say that there's no doubt that women [elected officials] are less gung-ho on the military than men," says Susan Carroll, a senior research associate at the center. "Women in both parties are more liberal than men."

The Groups

Four of the six major national women's peace groups were established in the 1980s, and most of them have experienced steady growth in membership and staff. Peace Links, for example, reports a more than 100 percent growth in active groups—from 60 to 150—in 1986. Meanwhile, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament's (WAND) membership has climbed to 22,000 from 15,000 in the last year. [See box, page 21, for group profiles.]

One reason women have embraced the peace movement is because "women often have a different sense of national identity than men," says Roberta Garner, a sociologist at DePaul University in Chicago. "Being victims of oppression themselves, they identify with victims of war and with oppressed people around the world."

This "different sense" of national identity has been expressed in voting patterns in recent years. In 1984, 6 to 8 percent fewer women than men voted for Ronald Reagan, "and what we're seeing now is that the gap is influencing races at every level of government," says Celinda Lake, director of the Women's Campaign Fund in Washington, D.C. According to Lake, exit polling data from the 1986 Senate elections show that the gender gap created the winning margin for candidates in nine races, including those of Brock Adams (D-Wash.), Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.) and Wyche Fowler (D-Ga.). "Essentially," Lake says, "women voters were responsible for placing the Democrats in control of the Senate."

In 1986, for the first time more women than men voted, and Lake estimates that 10 million more women than men will go to the polls in 1988. "Women will play a major role in the 1988 elections," says Lake. "It will be interesting to see how aggressively candidates target their women constituents."

If candidates begin to cater to the concerns of women in their voting districts, they will have to focus more on war and peace issues. Polls have shown, for example, that women strongly oppose U.S. military involvement in other countries. One recent New York Times/CBS New survey found that only 17 percent of the women polled—as opposed to 40 percent of the men—favor U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras. And while this gap on military issues has historically represented the most persistent—and the largest—divergence of opinion between the sexes, what is different now, says Lake, is that women are *voting* on these issues.

"I think women are becoming more gender conscious and more independent overall," says Barbara Bardes, a professor of political science at Loyola University in Chicago. Bardes has been compiling gender breakdowns of national surveys conducted

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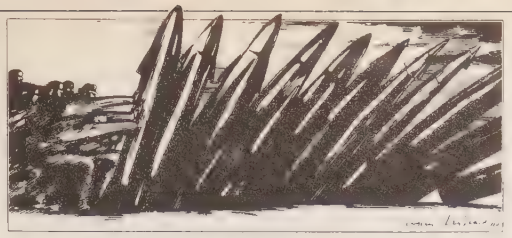

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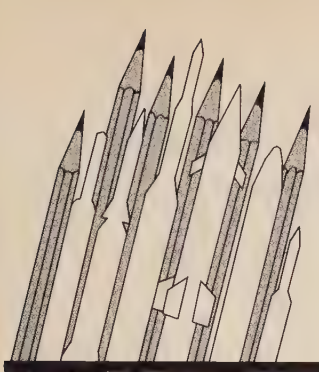

DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

JULY/AUGUST 1987 VOLUME II, NO. 2

ABC's Walter Rodgers: Maverick in Moscow

By David M. Rubin

When Secretary of State George Shultz visited Moscow in April to discuss a Euromissile agreement with the Soviets, discerning viewers of the network evening news might well have assumed that the rule of tweedledum and tweedledee would apply yet again and that all three would report Shultz's visit in a uniform and predictable fashion.

They did not. Viewers of ABC saw a contentious visit centering on complaints of Jewish dissidents and disagreements over an arms accord. Viewers of CBS and NBC received a completely different and much more optimistic account. CBS went so far as to say, in the aftermath of the trip, that relations between the superpowers were "the best that they have been in the Reagan presidency."

On this story it mattered very much whether the news from Moscow was being reported by Walter Rodgers, the ABC bureau chief, or by competitors Wyatt Andrews at CBS and Sandy Gilmour at NBC.

Andrews chose to present Shultz in a variety of settings in Moscow. Viewers saw Shultz at a dinner with Soviet writers, at a Russian Orthodox church service, and at the gravesite of Boris Pasternak. They learned that Shultz had spoken directly to the Soviet people at some length in an unusual television interview. They learned that Soviet press coverage of Shultz's visit, and that of House Speaker Jim Wright a few days later, had been "remarkably friendly" and almost "unprecedented" in presenting the American point of view to a Soviet audience. On NBC, Gilmour also dwelled on the Shultz TV interview, noting that "both sides of the arms control story got told here as never before."

Rodgers's report on ABC, however, made only passing reference to Shultz's appearance on Soviet television. He did not comment on the unusually aggressive Soviet press coverage of the arms control talks, which found TASS providing more details than State Department spokesman Charles Redman. With the exception of his visit to a Passover seder, he ignored Shultz's travels around Moscow.

For Rodgers, the real story was the continuing complaints of the refuseniks, particularly Josef Begun and pianist Vladimir Feltsman. Rodgers also criticized the Soviets for failing to negotiate seriously on limiting bombers and submarines, without noting that the American side had been similarly reticent. And he chided Congressman Wright's congressional delegation for being too polite to raise Afghanistan or Soviet human rights abuses during a Texas-style chili party.

Of the three network correspondents in Moscow, Rodgers, a three-year veteran, is the cold warrior. He is the most suspicious of Soviet motives, the most cynical about improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations, and the most combative in style. He is a sort of Sam Donaldson at the Kremlin, with all of Donaldson's surface irritability, some of his dark visage, and the same talent for closing a story with a stinging ten-second tag that puts the distinctive Rodgers spin on every event.

Surveying the Coverage

A Center survey of network coverage of Moscow and the East Bloc between April 1 and May 13—a busy news period that included the embassy security flap, the Shultz visit, a trip by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Czechoslovakia, and the first anniversary of Chernobyl—indicates that of the three, Rodgers consistently presented the harshest view of the Soviet Union. He was the least likely to permit Soviets other than dissidents to speak for themselves in his news pieces, and provided more of his own editorial views—and less straight reportage—than did Andrews and Gilmour. Neither Mr. Tweedledum nor Mr. Tweedledee, Rodgers presents a darker picture of the USSR than do his two competitors.

Whatever the differences in style among American reporters, their methods appear similar when compared to the techniques of Samuel Rachlin, who covered the USSR for the Danish Broadcasting Corporation. Rachlin's singular style of curbside Kremlinology may now be influencing American reporting. *See page 6.*

Despite Peter Jennings's reputation as the least reflexive and most experienced of the three anchors in reporting international news, ABC is giving comparatively huge chunks of air time to Rodgers. During the Center's

Inside: Warnke, Luttwak, Schroeder, Steinbruner, Kroesen, and Others on INF Coverage

six-week sample period, he was allotted thirty-one minutes for seventeen stories. NBC gave Gilmour only sixteen minutes for seven stories (one of which was reported in Moscow by correspondent Frank Bourgholtzer); and Andrews received fourteen and a half minutes for six stories on CBS.

What is more, Gilmour and Andrews received most of their air time to provide the Moscow perspective on breaking stories of importance to Washington, such as the Shultz visit, the first anniversary of Chernobyl, and embassy security. ABC gave Rodgers more freedom. He aired four lengthy features in addition to the breaking stories: two on dissidents, one on letters to *Pravda*, and one on baseball in Moscow.

Rodgers's approach was on display in early April when Gorbachev visited Czechoslovakia. His first report, a scene-setter on April 5, found him in a sour mood. Gorbachev had postponed the trip, offering as an excuse a "slight cold." This required Rodgers to go back to Moscow to cover the breaking embassy security story, then return to Prague later in the week.

Thus inconvenienced, Rodgers made only passing reference to the desire of the Czech people for economic reform and greater openness. Instead, he trained his fire on Soviet duplicity. He hinted at unspecified political disagreements between Gorbachev and the Czech leadership as the real reason for the postponement. He complained the Czechs knew two days earlier that the visit would be delayed. He raised the possibility that Gorbachev would not come at all, despite Soviet statements to the contrary. All of this might have been true, but it provided his viewers with little insight into Soviet-Czech relations and the stakes for both sides.

In contrast, Tom Fenton, who had been sent by CBS from his base in London, used the delay to show his viewers something of life in Czechoslovakia. He took his camera to a Prague bookstore to discuss the general unavailability of the works of the native Franz Kafka. He visited a church to underscore the lack of religious freedom and the charge that many priests have been forced underground. He described a Czech government that has purchased the silence of its citizens with consumer goods in the stores, and he interviewed some of those citizens about their hopes for the Gorbachev visit. While Rodgers was muttering darkly about the duplicitous Russians, Fenton produced a much more informative and substantively critical piece in which some of the texture of Czech life came across.

Rodgers's cynicism again was in evidence when Gorbachev at last came to Prague. During the visit the Soviet leader announced a willingness to eliminate short-range missiles from Europe. On April 10, CBS called this offer a "dramatic and positive step." NBC said it represented a "significant shift." Rodgers was not impressed. In the tag to his story of April 10, he called it a "minor concession to seize center stage for the Soviets before Secretary of State Shultz arrives in Moscow next week."

The obligatory Chernobyl anniversary pieces also illustrate the gulf that separates Rodgers from his network colleagues. Rodgers opened with footage of street demonstrations in Europe against nuclear power. He emphasized that there was little public opposition in the Soviet Union. He noted that a recent Soviet television documentary avoided the tough questions while

(continued on page 11)

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Medium-Range Missiles and the Media: Roundup on Press Coverage of INF

With talks on removing medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe well underway, Deadline *solicited comments from prominent military, academic, and political figures on how they thought the press was covering the negotiations and what ought to be done in the future. Among the questions asked were: How well have technical issues been reported? In the event the two sides agree on a treaty, what issues are likely to emerge during the ratification process? What should be covered as the negotiations and the domestic debate continue? Edited texts of the comments follow.*

JOHN STEINBRUNER

The NATO Bureaucracy

John Steinbruner is director of the Foreign Policy Study Program at the Brookings Institution and a member of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on International Security and Arms Control. He has written widely on nuclear policy and most recently is the co-author of Managing Nuclear Operations.

There are four dimensions of the INF debate that are inadequately covered by the press. Some of them have not been covered at all. Probably the most important in these terms is the issue of preemptive attack capabilities, something which is very much at stake here. The press coverage suggests that the Soviet position is inspired by political considerations and is an attempt to split Western Europe or appeal broadly to world opinion or establish credibility within the Soviet Union itself. I think that such coverage misses the extent to which the Soviets are being driven by a genuine—or genuinely perceived, at any rate—security requirement: to relieve the special threat that the Pershing II missile presents to them. A low-warning attack capability is dangerous. Its removal is serious for the USSR.

A second category in which press coverage has been inadequate is in the nature of the conventional balance. We seem to get regular repetition of the bureaucratic NATO position, which primarily registers the Soviet forces as having a conventional superiority in Western Europe. In the professional community, however, that statement is not universally accepted by any means. But the press coverage would lead one to believe that it is a widely accepted fact that is beyond dispute.

The press also reports another feature of what I call the standard position of the NATO bureaucracy. This issue is that without INF there is a problem of credibility in "coupling" the U.S. forces to European forces. I would say that the press is seriously remiss in not developing the other side of the coupling issue, which is that U.S. strategic forces have been organized for thirty years to defend Europe. This organization could not be reversed in a minute. In fact, coupling is not a serious military question. Anyone who understands the nature of the national military machine will understand that it is primed to defend Europe and that European defense is integral to its entire arrangement. That is the place where we are defending the United States itself. So this political distinction has very little underlying military reality to it, despite the fact that various people, such as Henry Kissinger, try to grind on about this all the time. That also is one-sided reporting. Journalists give the account of the relatively prominent body of opinion. But that opinion is at such odds with underlying fact that it should not go unchallenged.

Finally, I think that for my taste the verification issue has not really been very well handled. People have pointed out that there is a verification problem. That is part of the issue, but the underlying difficulty with verification is that a fair body of people pursuing the question would rather have the issue than its resolution. They are setting up standards for verification and allegations of cheating that are designed to prevent these issues from ever getting resolved. A good part of the verification issue is simply a question of whether we in the United States will take a practical attitude about it and devise a measure to give reasonable assurances without trying to be perfect. Some people pursuing the verification game do not intend to get it resolved. If you just read the press you would never realize the problems with the verification proposals on the table.

EDWARD LUTTWAK

The Strategic Revolution

Edward Luttwak is a senior fellow in strategic studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He is presently a consultant to the U.S. government on strategic and military issues and has served as a consultant to the secretary of defense and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The important strategic issue in the matter of INF did not receive appropriate coverage. This issue is that the proposed agreement has not been perceived by Americans and Europeans as another symbolic reduction, but rather as presaging the general abandonment of nuclear deterrence for Europe. The coverage of the INF agreement has not answered why this particular arms control agreement has aroused a completely unprecedented response from traditional supporters of arms control, such as Henry Kissinger and many Europeans who oppose it, while the proponents of the agreement are those who, in the past, were always skeptical of arms control.

The reason, of course, is that the medium-range missile proposal has been taken by the Europeans not as another agreement that has only political value, but rather as indicating an approval of a post-nuclear period in which deterrence is abandoned. This is a great strategic revolution that has simply not been covered in enough depth by the press. This is the greatest strategic development in forty years.

The difficulty of this story is that it cannot be conveyed by standard reporting. The herd of large pink elephants crossing Chevy Chase Circle has been dutifully reported. But journalists have not even tried to explain the underlying reasons for this phenomenon.

The most fundamental position-taking issue is arms control. If you want to distinguish between right and left in this country, you can do it on arms control. And here, on this key issue, you have a reversal of sides. The press has reported this development but it has not done the analysis necessary to understand it.

REP. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

The Defense of Europe

Patricia Schroeder, an eight-term Democratic Congresswoman from Colorado, is a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee. Currently she serves on the Military Personnel and Research and Development subcommittees.

The press has been somewhat overeager to find possible obstacles to reaching an agreement on medium-range missiles. It is as if the press is nibbling the proposal to death. One example of such reporting is the question of the conventional balance. The press always seems to do the same number on this issue: It assumes that the Russians will be on the Rhine if we remove these nuclear weapons from Europe. The press also assumes that it will be inordinately expensive to replace nuclear weapons with conventional weapons. On this issue, the press needs to begin asking a few "why" questions. One I would ask, for example, is: "If we are so overwhelmed by Warsaw Pact tanks, why haven't the allies gotten together and developed a cheap anti-tank weapon?" The allies could do to tanks what the Iraqis did to the Stark.

Another question the press has not asked involves the related issue of burdensharing. Why, as our European allies become more fiscally sound, must we shoulder more of the financial burden for the defense of Europe? People call you isolationist when you say this. But, in fact, the U.S. position now is isolationist because we are isolating ourselves by accepting so large a burden of what should be an allied defensive effort.

To help the public understand what is happening in this area, I think the press needs to place the arms control debate in a context and remind readers of people's earlier positions. One example is the verification question. It now seems that the Russians might accept the idea of on-site verification, which we originally suggested. Now the U.S. seems to be backing down from this position. When people read about such posturing they begin to think, "The U.S. doesn't really want to get an agreement." This may be true. But in order to convey what this maneuvering is about, the press must rise above the immediate debate and place this discussion of INF into a perspective meaningful to most readers.

PAUL WARNKE

The Coupling Question

Paul Warnke was director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1976 to 1978 and was the chief U.S. negotiator for the SALT II Treaty from 1977 to 1978. He now serves as honorary chairman of the Committee for National Security in Washington, D.C.

The press has uncritically accepted the American position on the question of "coupling" our nuclear forces to Europe. In 1982 and 1983, the American position was to try to sell these missiles to the Europeans. We talked about the fact that this would bolster the American nuclear guarantee, render the nuclear umbrella leakproof, and that we would, in fact, be more apt to use the nuclear weapons. The Soviets would know that and therefore be more deterred. Now, one of the problems with this argument is that the Europeans have a declaratory policy that is far different, far more apocalyptic, than their actual policy would be. They would like the Soviets to feel that as soon as the first tank moves into West Germany, the Kremlin would go up in a mushroom cloud. But that is not, in fact, what they would want because they realize they would be the first casualty in a nuclear war. It seems to me that there has been an uncritical acceptance by the press of statements on the coupling question by Nixon and Kissinger and Scowcroft and many others who should know better.

Why doesn't the press point out the fact that we were not concerned about coupling with intermediate range nuclear forces in Europe until the late 1970s. That was in response to a political challenge, which was the Soviet SS-20 deployment. Now, why have these weapons acquired such mystic significance? We lived without INF from the time we took the missiles out of Greece and Turkey. We have had zero INF even though the Soviets have had between five and seven hundred SS-4s and SS-5s even before they deployed the SS-20s.

The press has talked about the verification problem, but without specificity. Why doesn't a reporter figure out what could be verified? For example, something that is feasible is one-time, on-site verification of the actual physical destruction of the weapons. That kind of on-site inspection makes sense. There is a discrete event that you can come and monitor. If I were a reporter, I think what I would do is to check with our Joint Chiefs of Staff and find out just how much intrusive verification the U.S. really would be willing to accept.

What has also been underanalyzed and underreported is that, except in the context of an overall arms control agreement, an INF accord is largely useless. It is not

totally useless, because you are eliminating a very vulnerable category of weapons. But, without the SALT II limits, the USSR can add to strategic missiles many more than the 1,300 warheads that they are taking out of Europe. The President has scratched the SALT limits. The Soviet Union is deploying the SS-24 and the SS-25. Up to this point, they have been eliminating exisiting missiles in order to stay within the SALT limits. Now, why should they continue to go through the expense and trouble of destroying SS-11s, SS-17s, and SS-19s to accommodate these new missiles?

GENERAL FREDERICK KROESEN

The Conventional Balance

General Frederick Kroesen was Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Army, Europe, and Commander, NATO Central Army Group (CENTAG) from 1979 to 1983. He is now a senior associate of the Association of the United States Army in Arlington, Virginia.

NATO needs nuclear weapons in Europe to defend against the Warsaw Pact. NATO's conventional capabilities, however, have frequently been understated by the press.

Even though I agree that there are many Warsaw Pact tanks to contend with, I believe that NATO's conventional capability is better than the press gives it credit for. When the press limits its appraisal of the conventional balance to one of counting tanks, field artillery pieces, and numbers of people who are on one side versus the other, it will not reach an accurate conclusion about how a conventional war might turn out.

Press reports reflect either an inadequacy of sources, a lack of depth in research, or even laziness. The press has taken simulations and war games that have been played for twenty-five or thirty years and continues to assign an overwhelming capability to the Soviets despite changes that have been made and improvements that we have had in our forces.

Having made this point, I would like to clarify my position on the conventional balance, where I have a personal pique with reporters, columnists, and authors. In 1983, as Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Army, Europe, I testified before a congressional committee, stating my belief that a conventional defense of NATO Europe is not hopeless. My purposes at the time were to explain and defend the Army's modernization program and to express my confidence in NATO forces and the concepts for their employment.

For the past four years, selected extracts of my testimony have been used by the press to support arguments that we do not need tactical nuclear forces, that we do not need six divisions of prepositioned equipment, and that modernization can be a low priority. None of these arguments could be further from the truth.

My aim, in 1983 and now, has been to assure that the Supreme Allied Commander will have the reinforcements he must have and that his forces will be armed and equipped well enough to ensure that his days of contemplating nuclear weapons use can become weeks or months or even longer because of the quality of his conventional defenses. I have never advocated, and do not believe, we should expend the resources required to maintain conventional forces in numbers that can guarantee success without a reserve of tactical nuclear firepower.

RANDALL FORSBERG and CHALMERS HARDENBERGH

The Treaty

Randall Forsberg is founder and executive director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. In 1980 she wrote "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," which helped launch the nuclear weapons freeze campaign. Chalmers Hardenbergh is deputy director of IDDS and editor of its Arms Control Reporter.

As both sides move closer to reaching an agreement on medium-range missiles, reporters should be prepared for the possibility that the administration might have a change of heart and grow leary of an INF agreement. One likely area of concern is the question of verification. Kenneth Adelman, who supports an agreement, nonetheless claims that the treaty under consideration would only generate 50 to 60 percent confidence that the Soviet Union is in compliance. Reporters ought to ask what the bases are for such a conservative estimate. Is it based on the difficulty of verifying missiles as opposed to launchers? Is it due to the fact that Soviet production lines might remain open to provide spares or test missiles or even to modernize present missiles?

The USSR also could attempt to scuttle an agreement by insisting that the 72 Pershing IA warheads be removed from the Federal Republic of Germany. Reporters should investigate whether this is a political issue, a military issue, or a potential bargaining chip for the Soviet Union.

During the ratification process, the press should watch for conservatives to bring up the question of "uncounted missiles." The administration claims that it can count launchers well, but cannot count missiles that may have been produced. If this issue emerges, reporters might ask why this was not an issue in the SALT negotiations. Reporters might also ask if it is not possible to agree to an upper limit on the number of spare missiles that the USSR might have produced.

In the post-ratification period, the issue of conventional arms is likely to move to center stage. Opposition parties in Britain, West Germany, and Denmark have embraced elements of a policy of so-called "alternative defense" or "nonoffensive defense." Soviet officials have called for withdrawing offensive weapons from border areas and for NATO-Warsaw Pact discussions on military doctrine. Journalists should test whether the Soviet side is serious about such agreements and whether this portends a move away from the traditional "stockpile management" approach to arms control.

Samuel Rachlin's Russia: Reporting from the Bottom Up

by Ann Marie Cunningham

This June, American television displayed an unprecedented interest in everyday life in the Soviet Union. NBC featured a three-part series on "NBC Nightly News," hosted by correspondent Garrick Utley and produced by Joe DeCola, on the effects of "glasnost" on the Soviet judicial system, economy, literary scene, and on Soviet youth. CBS aired a two-hour special on June 24 titled "The Soviet Union: Seven Days in May," intended "to provide a window on Soviet life." ABC also plans an hour-long documentary.

While this interest in the quotidian is new to American television, it has long been the trademark of Samuel Rachlin, the Moscow correspondent for the Danish Broadcasting Corporation from 1977 to 1984. As American networks look for ways to deepen their coverage of the Soviet Union, there has been a sudden flurry of interest among American network executives in Rachlin's work. According to Jonathan Sanders, assistant director of the Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union and a consultant to CBS, Rachlin "sets the absolute standard of what we would want in a Moscow correspondent." Former NBC correspondent Marvin Kalb calls Rachlin's work "leisurely, thoughtful, graceful reporting." DeCola and ABC's Peter Jennings have also looked to Rachlin for advice on how to cover the USSR.

Though Rachlin studied journalism at Columbia University and was a Nieman fellow at Harvard, his approach to reporting on Moscow is strikingly non-American. What distinguishes Rachlin from his American counterparts is his interest in the ordinary Russian. Unlike U.S. reporters, Rachlin approaches his topic from the bottom up. He frequently interviews the "person on the street," a method seldom used by American reporters, who often feature U.S. interpretations of Soviet government statements. "If we cannot understand the Soviet people's daily lives," Rachlin says, "we cannot understand the Kremlin."

As a naturalized Danish citizen who was born in the USSR and speaks fluent Russian, Rachlin was able to gain especially good access to the homes of average Russians. Nonetheless, Rachlin says Soviet citizens are accessible to the reporter who seeks them out. "Ordinary people were much more willing to talk than Russian officials, who are almost impossible to reach," Rachlin says. "When the networks have consulted me I've always insisted getting out among the real people, real families."

Through Western Eyes

Rachlin's efforts to avoid defining Russians in Western terms sets him apart from many American reporters. ABC's most ambitious effort in recent years to report on the USSR—"Inside the Other Side"—repeatedly ran into this obstacle. For example, correspondent Richard Threlkeld unwittingly acknowledged his Western bias in introducing the series by saying of the Soviets: "Their traditions are older, their memories longer than ours, but the sturdy, long-suffering Russian peasants missed out on some things, like the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Magna Carta." But when Rachlin "compares and contrasts Soviet reality with Western experience," Sanders says, "he makes sure you understand how Russians see the world."

Rachlin is also sensitive to Russian culture. John Boyer, former editorial director of "Inside Story," public television's program of media criticism, says Rachlin's strength is that "he asks questions subtly, the way Russians do, without seeming threatening or probing." Boyer says this method "allows him to elicit information" that a confrontational approach would not permit. This is particularly evident in comparing the Rachlin documentary, "Jews of Moscow," with a CBS "60 Minutes" report on a similar topic filed by Mike Wallace in March. Rachlin's report focuses on Jewish refuseniks as well as Jews who do not wish to leave the USSR. Wallace's report concentrates on Jews who say they are happy with their lives in the Soviet Union.

The CBS program covers ground that Rachlin does not, but Wallace's rapid-fire interviewing style fails to elicit such personal and emotional descriptions of daily life as one refusenik gave Rachlin from a Moscow home: "We live in a kind of inner immigration. We don't mix with the surrounding society. We take the bus or the subway or go shopping only when we have to. Thank heavens I don't have to work outside my home. I don't listen to the radio, watch television, read the newspapers. I've got my Israel in my home."

Rachlin is most celebrated among those who know his work for a 1981 documentary he prepared on the late Soviet folk singer Vladimir Vysotsky. Vysotsky's appeal, as several Russians acknowledge in the film, was difficult for Westerners to appreciate. Yet, Rachlin manages to convey Vysotsky's unique role by allowing his public to figure prominently in the documentary. Westerners often view Soviets either as uncomplaining if not satisfied citizens, or as dissidents. Rachlin's portrayal of Vysotsky refines this limited understanding. In the words of one fan who appears in the documentary, Vysotsky was "a voice of dissent, but not a dissident." Rachlin explains that the singer was neither recognized nor harassed by the Soviet government. He shows that although the Soviet government did not acknowledge Vysotsky's death in July 1980, it also did not prevent 100,000 mourners from gathering in Moscow in what Rachlin describes as "the closest people in Moscow had come to a spontaneous demonstration in a long time." One woman interviewed by Rachlin explains how she has heard strains of Vysotsky's music coming from official residences. Rachlin adds that Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev had been rumored to be fond of one of Vysotsky's songs.

Despite the networks' welcome efforts at broadening their coverage of the Soviet Union and their sudden

interest in Rachlin, now the foreign editor of a Danish business magazine, it is not clear that American television will really learn from his work. Much of Rachlin's best reporting, for example, arises from his patient portrayals of typical Russian scenes. In a ninety-minute documentary titled "Russian Pictures," Rachlin devotes a long segment to a group of Russians sitting at a table, gossiping, playing guitar, drinking vodka. Boyer finds the scene compelling. But, he says, "most American producers would say the scene was boring, went on too long, and ought to be cut."

Yet, despite such attitudes, the enthusiasm for Rachlin's work is an indication that reporters are looking for ways to improve their coverage of the USSR. Geoff Stephens, a researcher for Garrick Utley, says that NBC's report on Soviet youth, aired in June, was influenced by Rachlin's program on Vysotsky. According to Boyer, the recent interest in Rachlin suggests that "the networks are recognizing that they need people with those skills." Rachlin's example, he says, has demonstrated to American television that "it's a myth that you can't cover the Soviet Union."

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM, a Center Associate, frequently writes for and about television.

Is Defense Reporting A Martial Art?

By George Perkovich

In the last year, both *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* have added retired military officers to their teams of reporters covering the defense beat. Max Frankel, executive editor of the *Times*, says that in hiring Bernard E. Trainor, a retired lieutenant general with 39 years experience in the military, the *Times* wanted "somebody steeped in military affairs." According to Nicholas Horrock, the Washington bureau chief of the *Tribune*, the newspaper hired retired Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel David Evans "to compensate for the inexperience of . . . beat reporters" who lack a military background.

A number of retired military officers also work as columnists and analysts for newsweeklies and smaller daily newspapers. They include: Harry G. Summers, a retired colonel and prominent strategist who writes a column for *U.S. News & World Report*; Henry Mohr, who until recently wrote for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and now writes a column for Heritage Features Syndicate; and Glenn Martin, who writes a weekly column for the *San Antonio News-Express*. Their background gives these journalists distinct advantages over ordinary reporters in covering the Pentagon. But as former military officers, they also face difficult ethical and professional issues in their new careers.

In less than one year as a military correspondent for *The New York Times*, Trainor already has faced one of the most troublesome questions for the military officer-turned-journalist: how to write a story about which he has classified information.

Trainor, formerly operational director of the Marine Corps's Oversight Group for the Joint Special Operations Command, was assigned by the *Times* last summer to assess the capability of the Delta Force, one of the Army Special Operations Forces, to free American hostages from an airliner that had been hijacked in Karachi. "This was a dilemma," says Trainor. "A lot of what I know is classified."

"The way I resolved it was to go to the *Times*'s morgue and get everything the *Times* had written on the Delta Force. I wrote a story based on information the *Times* already had without distinguishing what was in error or not." Asked if the story he wrote could have contained errors, Trainor responds, "Theoretically, yes. Errors could have been in the story."

The piece never was printed, Trainor says, because the hijacking was quickly resolved. The paper's assistant managing editor at the time, Craig Whitney, says that "had we known it was false, we wouldn't want to publish it. I would not want to be party to publishing anything we knew is false—and he doesn't either."

In general, says Trainor, when it comes to classified information, "if it's classified legally, it's classified. I won't use it . . . I made an agreement when I came to the *Times* that if there was something I couldn't do, that violated my sense of propriety, someone else will be assigned to do the story."

Dan Balz, national editor of *The Washington Post*, says his newspaper does not hire retired military officers to cover the Pentagon precisely because of the dilemma they face when it comes to handling sensitive data. "You're on the one hand sworn not to use classified information, but on the other hand, in journalism you have to get what you can," Balz says. "Not willy-nilly trample on national security interests—but, you know, too many things are classified."

Whitney believes that Trainor's past access to classified information is an asset to the *Times* because "he knows the right questions to ask people in the military. He can ask intelligent questions and get them to provide the answers." Other editors, however, are concerned that retired officers may have forged lingering allegiances that could interfere with a willingness to report certain stories aggressively.

"In my experience, with some exceptions, military people tend to accept at face value the party line," says Benjamin F. Schemmer, editor of *Armed Forces Journal* and himself a retired military officer. "I find them not as skeptical as professional journalists." Whitney says that conflict of interest was a concern of the *Times* before hiring Trainor: "I won't say we don't worry about it. I discussed it with him when we were considering him for the job."

As a reporter for the *Tribune*, Evans says he can turn his Pentagon experience to good advantage. "There's a fair amount of concern among mid-level military

people that things are not right at Pentagon City," he says. "People in the mid-level welcome the prospect that the press will expose inadequacies in the system."

In an effort to antipicate reader concern about possible conflict of interest, the *Tribune* runs a note with each of Evans's commentary and analysis pieces identifying him as a former military officer. The *Times* designates most of Trainor's articles "Military Analysis" but never identifies the author as a retired military officer. Executive Editor Frankel says this is consistent with the paper's treatment of the doctors and lawyers on the staff who write about their professions.

Trainor and Evans Report

Evans and Trainor are primarily military analysts and commentators. As such, their responsibilities are less to report breaking news than to evaluate military affairs from their positions as resident experts on issues of national security. The *Times*'s Whitney describes Trainor as "a reporter whose job it is to analyze military affairs and break news when he can." In describing his position, Trainor says, "I don't look at the subject as a journalist. I look at it as a military analyst." A review of the work of these reporters offers some indication of how well they are fulfilling this role.

Trainor's strengths are most evident when he writes about wars and military exercises. Recent assignments include stories on Chad, Nicaragua, the North Atlantic and Iraq. "The value of these kinds of guys," says the *Times*'s defense correspondent, Michael Gordon, "is obvious when you read Trainor's coverage of the Sandinista military exercises. He did a military analysis of the maneuver, describing how the helicopters weren't in sync with the tanks, and all sorts of detailed stuff like that. When I read that I thought there are very few ordinary journalists who could write that stuff. And one thing it showed was that the Sandinistas aren't the kind of war machine that could threaten Honduras and other countries in the region like some people claim."

Away from the battlefield, Trainor appears more reluctant to share knowledge gained from his substantial military experience. Trainor names sources infrequently and rarely pits one official against another. Many of his articles merely transmit others' views, as was the case with his treatment of legislation to reorganize the Joint Chiefs of Staff, published September 19 and nominally labeled "Military Analysis." In the piece he presented arguments of opponents and advocates of the reorganization without suggesting the strengths and weaknesses of either view, even though he served in high Pentagon staff positions and has intimate knowledge of the Pentagon. "My friends have said I should put in more judgments," Trainor says of his writing. "I suspect I probably can and will become more judgmental as I get comfortable in this role."

His front-page article, "A Missile-Free Europe: Little Impact On a War," published May 1, indicates movement in this direction. In it, Trainor analyzed the implications of an agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe, emerging as a key analyst, a reporter able to make a judgment on the prospects of defending Europe in the absence of U.S. missiles of that type.

The *Tribune*'s Evans, unlike his counterpart at the *Times*, is not reluctant to offer personal judgments in his writing based on his Pentagon experience. Evans is wary of Department of Defense information. "The Pentagon has mastered the Kremlin's art of disinformation," he says, "turning it into a fine art." Between his tours in the Marines and at the *Tribune*, Evans made his living criticizing the Pentagon at Business Executives for National Security, a Pentagon watchdog group. He became well known in Washington for an article he wrote for *The Washington Post*'s "Outlook" section published earlier this year on the problems of the B-1B bomber that compared optimistic statements made about the bomber with subsequent revelations of problems in the program.

An article that ran on the front page of the *Tribune*'s "Perspective" section on April 19 ("U.S. Dilemma: How to Defend Europe"), also displays Evans's willingness to challenge conventional thinking on defense matters. The piece criticized what Evans described as "over-reliance on nuclear weapons at the expense of conventional weaponry." This emphasis, Evans wrote, is based on what he believes to be the false premise that U.S. nuclear weapons provide "a cheap counterweight to the Soviet Union's numerical advantages in conventional weaponry."

To illustrate his controversial point, Evans compared the anti-tank capability of 925 nuclear-tipped artillery shells, which will cost the Army $1.1 billion, to the effectiveness of non-nuclear weapons that could be purchased for the same price. Evans's comparisons produced surprising figures. An optimistic estimate would give the nuclear artillery shells the capability to knock out about 6,000 tanks, Evans wrote. For the same money, he noted, the U.S. Army could purchase 96,000 TOW anti-tank missiles which could destroy 10,000 tanks. The army could also buy "a staggering 2.7 million antitank shells costing $405 apiece . . . enough slugging power to wipe out nearly half the tank inventory in the Warsaw Pact"—or some 31,000 tanks.

Evans went on to illustrate the consequences of dependency on nuclear defenses. "Between the choices of a few hundred nuclear artillery shells and a couple million antitank shells there are . . . two vastly different outcomes: The first choice probably will not stop a Soviet tank invasion, but rather is intended to trigger a global nuclear war. The second choice can stop an invasion without necessarily precipitating a nuclear holocaust."

Evans aims to challenge "the counterproductive conventional wisdom" that he says surrounds defense matters. "The more aggressive the press is, the better," Evans says. In this respect, he may be different from Trainor, whose approach may be summed up in his remark about his relationship to Pentagon sources: "I have their confidence that in no way will I embarass them."

GEORGE PERKOVICH is a fellow of the World Policy Institute in New York.

Just Another Atomic Anniversary

by Greg Mitchell

As the forty-second anniversary of the dropping of the bomb over Hiroshima approaches, journalists may be tempted once again to file stock reports recounting how using atomic weapons in August 1945 prevented a costly invasion of Japan. While media interest in the atomic bombings varies from year to year, journalists seldom have questioned the assumption that lives were saved by the decision to bomb rather than invade Japan.

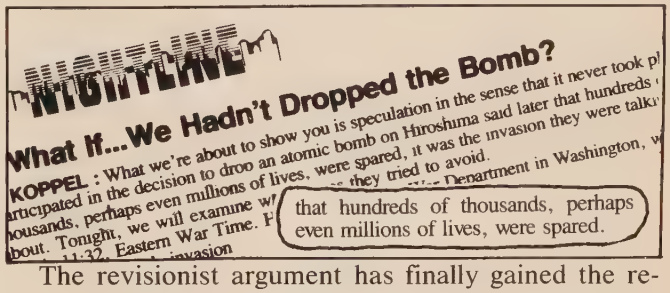
A surge of media attention marked the fortieth anniversary, on August 6, 1985, including cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek*, editorials in most major daily newspapers, and special programs about the event on the three major networks. Last year, the Public Broadcasting System and "The CBS Evening News," among others, noted the event.

The press's estimates of the numbers of American deaths averted range from 250,000, cited in *The Baltimore Sun* on August 6, 1985, to a "conservative estimate . . . of at least 500,000" made in *The New Republic* on September 2 of the same year. George Will, in his syndicated column, put that figure at "perhaps a million." The news program "Nightline" marked the fortieth anniversary with a dramatization of how ABC might have covered the invasion that never took place. "Nightline" host Ted Koppel called the hypothetical attack on Japan "the most massive invasion in the history of warfare." Estimates during the program of American deaths in such an invasion ranged from "hundreds of thousands" to "perhaps even millions."

Despite what journalists persist in writing, documentary evidence accumulated in the last several years now suggests that the Joint Chiefs of Staff themselves expected no more than 40,000 American deaths in an invasion of Japan. Moreover, recently discovered writings of President Truman indicate he believed neither an invasion nor an atomic attack was needed to secure a Japanese surrender, which Truman, by the summer of 1945, was being told was imminent.

The entire invasion premise, in fact, has been slowly unravelling, according to many who study the issue closely. Gar Alperovitz, in his controversial study *Atomic Diplomacy*, published in 1965, was among the first historians to argue that the use of nuclear weapons was not a military necessity. In the last three years, the "revisionist" case has been bolstered by publication of Alperovitz's revised edition of *Atomic Diplomacy* and by Arjun Makhijani and John Kelly, two researchers who unearthed critical government documents from the United States Archives. Others who have studied this issue include: Barton J. Bernstein, a historian at Stanford University and author of "A Post-war Myth: 500,000 Lives Saved," published in the June/July 1986 issue of *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*; Robert L. Messer, a historian from the University of Illinois who wrote "New Evidence on Truman's Decision" in the same magazine in 1985; and Rufus E. Miles, Jr., in an article titled "Hiroshima: The Strange Myth of Half a Million Lives Saved," in the fall 1985 issue of *International Security*.

These writers' skepticism about the necessity of bombing Japan echoes the views of prominent U.S. military officers of World War II. These include General Douglas MacArthur, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chester Nimitz, Curtis LeMay, Hap Arnold, and one of Truman's chief advisers, Admiral William Leahy. The revisionists have long cited Eisenhower's post-war statement about the bomb that "it wasn't necessary to hit them [the Japanese] with that awful thing." With the publication of General Omar Bradley's autobiography in 1983, it also was learned for the first time that, according to Bradley, Eisenhower had argued against dropping the bomb in a meeting with Truman at Potsdam in July 1945.


NIGHTLINE
What If...We Hadn't Dropped the Bomb?
KOPPEL: What we're about to show you is speculation in the sense that it never took pl
articipated in the decision to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima said later that hundreds
housands, perhaps even millions of lives, were spared, it was the invasion they were talki
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bout. Tonight, we will examine wh
Eastern War Time.
that hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions of lives, were spared.

The revisionist argument has finally gained the respect of many mainstream historians. For the most part, however, news reports do not reflect the fact that there is substantial diversity of opinion on the necessity of dropping the bomb. The media's typical approach to this subject combines sincere sympathy for the victims with the hardnosed argument that the atomic bombings were absolutely essential to avoid an invasion. Reporters and commentators often soften their endorsement of the atomic attack by including in their reports, explicitly or by inference, the epitaph, "It must never happen again." What is missing is the question: "Did it have to happen at all?"

Revising History

The most compelling argument for using the bomb rests on the notion that destroying Hiroshima and Nagasaki was necessary to prevent an even bloodier American invasion of Japan. Other explanations or justifications for the bombing are offered, but the invasion scenario is the only one that has the ring of moral authority. On balance, it is asserted, the atomic bombings actually saved lives. By taking this lesser-of-two-evils approach, editorialists do not have to emulate George Will and argue, as he did, not long ago, that dropping the bomb was profoundly "moral"—only that the alternative, a horrendous invasion, was less moral. What follows is a review of some of the new information concerning the invasion premise.

Even the low end of the invasion casualty estimates

cited by Truman administration officials and much of the media today—a quarter of a million deaths—is slightly above the 200,000 believed killed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Truman cited the 250,000 estimate of U.S. lives saved immediately after the bombing. Ten years later, in his memoirs, he doubled that number. On some occasions, Truman doubled it again to one million.

Documentary evidence unearthed from the National Archives and marshalled by Bernstein in his *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* article, however, questions Truman's casualty estimates. According to Bernstein, an advisory group to the Joint Chiefs of Staff known as the Joint War Plans Committee estimated in June 1945 that some 40,000 Americans would die and an additional 150,000 would be wounded under the invasion scenario that was being considered. Such an attack, according to the document, would have two stages: a landing on Kyushu, the southernmost island of Japan, and a subsequent landing on the Tokyo plain. The JWPC's report, completed seven weeks before the bomb was dropped over Hiroshima, speculated that the number of Americans killed might be much lower—20,000—because "the Kyushu campaign may well prove to be the decisive operation which will terminate the war." In a memorandum also recently retrieved from the National Archives, Army Chief of Staff George Marshall stated he agreed with this estimate and informed Secretary of War Henry Stimson of the committee's findings.

Three weeks later, the conclusions of the JWPC were supported by yet another of the Joint Chiefs' advisory groups, the Joint Staff Planners, which also projected relatively low casualties. Records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff indicate that Marshall provided President Truman with similarly modest estimates on June 18.

Tens of thousands of American dead, of course, represent heavy losses. But these estimates are, nonetheless, more than 200,000 fewer than the lowest figure publicly cited by Truman, and routinely recorded by the news media.

Asking the Wrong Question

Even more revealing than information which questions the number of casualties the American military expected in an invasion of Japan is material which suggests that Truman may have believed that neither an atomic attack nor an invasion was necessary to end the Pacific war. In this event, the number of American deaths averted by bombing Japan would not have been 250,000 or even 20,000, but close to zero.

No one disputes that an invasion of Kyushu was being planned in the summer of 1945. But many journalists have mistaken planning for an invasion, which was clearly required, with the necessity of carrying it out. The fact that an invasion of Japan was scrapped following Hiroshima does not necessarily mean that without Hiroshima the invasion would have taken place.

Messer, in his August 1985 article in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, makes a compelling case. Other information comes from sources including recently discovered memos, declassified Japanese cables, U.S. diplomatic messages, and presidential papers. Most convincing among this material is evidence drawn from Truman's own journal, which the President kept during his trip to the Big Three summit meeting at Potsdam in July 1945, and from letters he wrote to his wife during the same period. The hand-written journal, which according to Messer had been misfiled among family records at the Truman Library, was not discovered until 1978. The letters turned up among his widow's private papers in 1983.

Much of the new evidence cited by Messer is related to the Soviet Union's stated intention to go to war with Japan in mid-August of that year. Until recently it was assumed that Truman did not appreciate the shattering impact such a Soviet move would have on Japan. But Truman's personal papers show otherwise. The most stunning example appears in Truman's entry in his Potsdam journal on July 17, 1945, concerning Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's wartime plans. Truman observed: "He'll be in Japan War on August 15. Fini Japs when that comes about." Messer, in summing up this and other evidence, writes, "The implications of these passages. . .for the orthodox defense of the bomb's use are devastating. If Soviet entry alone would end the war before an invasion of Japan," Messer continues, "the use of atomic bombs cannot be justified as the only alternative to that invasion."

Truman's journal and other new evidence also reveal that the United States was aware Japan was interested in surrendering, even before a Soviet declaration of war. In his Potsdam diary, Truman referred to one Japanese offer made to Stalin as a "telegram from Jap Emperor asking for peace." This new information contradicts Truman's subsequent public assertion that the "first indication" that Japan was ready to surrender did not arrive until August 10, the day after the bombing of Nagasaki.

A reading of Truman's Potsdam diary partially supports the view of the revisionists who contend that Truman's motivation for using the bomb on August 6 was not so much to end the war, but end it before the Russians could claim their spoils in Asia—and end it in such a way that the display of America's atomic muscle would make the Soviets more manageable in the postwar period. If this were true, it would mean that use of the bomb in August 1945 was *desirable* but not *necessary*, a reversal of the media's typical analysis of the atomic bombing.

None of this information, or the other new evidence offered by the revisionists, definitively answers why Truman decided to drop the bomb during the summer of 1945. But the new evidence demands more than the stock reports and implicit rationalizations that readers are subjected to every August.

GREG MITCHELL is the former editor of Nuclear Times. *He has written on various aspects of the atomic bombings for* The New York Times, The Washington Post *and other publications.*

(continued from page 2)
glorifying those who had fought the explosion and fires.

Andrews, however, offered exclusive footage of the damaged reactor itself, and Gilmour opened from the gravesites of those who died in the accident. Gilmour told his viewers of another Soviet television documentary, "The Warning," that had aired a few weeks earlier. It contained some surprisingly critical comments, in the Soviet context, about the response of local disaster management officials. He included footage of a local doctor reacting angrily to questions posed by a Soviet journalist. Rodgers, typically, included no mention of this documentary, nor did he present footage of Soviets speaking for themselves. He voiced the entire Chernobyl piece himself. Gilmour and Andrews put a variety of Soviet faces on the air.

The brief editorial tags that now routinely wrap up all television pieces also reveal Rodgers's perspective. Other reporters in both Europe and Moscow closed their Chernobyl stories with references to our inability to control technology, to the long-lasting public health effects of the radiation releases, or to what the accident teaches about the horrors of nuclear war. Rodgers, however, summed up as follows: "And to this day the Soviet government has never offered to pay Western Europeans a single kopek for their property losses or the potential loss of life from Chernobyl."

His tag on an April 14 arms control story speculated that Gorbachev's "military men might not like throwing away 1,000 nuclear warheads now aimed at NATO countries, nor will Gorbachev's generals be happy with intrusive Western inspection to prevent cheating." He did not add that the same has been said of American generals. Even the tag on a light-hearted feature about baseball in Moscow ended with a cold-war warning from Rodgers that the Soviets "love stealing bases."

During the sample period, NBC and CBS gave their Moscow correspondents only half the air time that ABC provided Rodgers, despite the heavy news agenda. But when they did get on the air, Gilmour and Andrews grappled honestly with developments in the Soviet-American relationship, and within the USSR itself.

While ABC should be applauded for making heavy use of its bureau chief, it seems elementary to suggest that the story in Moscow should be the Soviets and their allies, not the political views of Walter Rodgers.

DAVID M. RUBIN is co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

LETTERS

Not Chicken Little

To The Editor:

The only factual correction I would like to make regarding your article on the conventional balance ["Conventional Balance Coverage: Reporters on the Record," *Deadline,* May/June 1987] concerns the "spasm" quote attributed to me. If memory serves me correctly, I was referring to the public reaction to events in Iceland, not my motivation for the article.

In re-reading my article, it is clear that I was not playing Chicken Little, but rather pointing out for the edification of the *Times*'s readership the arguments that would be raised against the proposed nuclear cuts. I stand by my copy. All the arguments I cited were duly made, even recently by Nixon and Kissinger in the context of INF cuts.

As for the military balance ["What's in a Number?" *Deadline,* May/June 1987], there are dozens of gross assessments of the military balance. None agree, because the factors, boundaries, and categories of forces that go into the various bean counts vary by author. But if you lump them all together and divide by the total, they all come out pretty much the same. They give the numerical edge to the Pact.

Bernard E. Trainor
Military Correspondent
The New York Times
Washington Bureau

George Perkovich responds:

I am sorry that Bernard Trainor feels he was misquoted. My notes indicate that the "spasm response" remark was a reference to his article. We had been talking in general about the October 17 story, and he acknowledged that the piece did not reflect his full understanding of the issue. We talked a little longer about the story, and then he said, "It was a spasm response." In the context of our conversation I took him to be referring to the article.

Throwing the Book Award at McNamara

It is difficult to imagine a more ironic recipient for the Olive Branch Award than Robert S. McNamara, who recently received the award for his book, *Blundering into Disaster.*

McNamara, as secretary of defense under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, was instrumental in escalating both the war against Vietnam and the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. One of several examples took place in 1964, when McNamara gave the okay for U.S. development and eventual deployment of the Mark 12 system, the world's first Multiple Independently-targetable Reentry Vehicle, or MIRV. This decision, to place multiple warheads on a single missile, proved to be one of the most fateful in the history of the arms race.

John Sanbonmatsu
Astoria, New York

Bob Bender, president of the Writers' and Publishers' Alliance, and a member of the committee that selected the finalists for the book award, replies: The award we sponsor is given for the outstanding book published on nuclear issues and world peace. I share Mr. Sanbonmatsu's criticisms of McNamara's tenure as secretary of defense. But, in recent years, McNamara has spoken out against the nuclear arms buildup, and while we may disagree over specific points, in general, those of us concerned about nuclear issues applaud McNamara's present position.

NEW CENTER PUBLICATIONS ON EUROMISSILES AND NATIONAL SECURITY REPORTING

Euromissiles and the Press

"Euromissiles and the Press," by Michael Massing, the second in a series of Occasional Papers, is now available from the Center. This paper examines media coverage of the NATO decision to base cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe in the context of Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles. Massing's analysis covers the period from Helmut Schmidt's speech in 1977 to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, in which the Chancellor expressed his fears about an imbalance of forces in Europe, through developments of the Carter and first Reagan administrations. Massing pays particular attention to coverage of Soviet activities during this period, as well as to press characterizations of the SS-20 missile itself. His paper provides a historical perspective on current press coverage of the INF negotiations.

Massing is a former executive editor of the *Columbia Journalism Review* and a founder of the Committee to Protect Journalists. The 40-page paper is available from the Center. The price is $5.

Conference Proceedings

The Center has also reprinted the Proceedings of a two-day conference organized in 1983 by the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at NYU titled "War, Peace and the News Media." This conference laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Center itself in 1985. The Proceedings include three complete position papers that served as catalysts for conference debate: William A. Dorman on coverage of Yuri Andropov's rise to leadership of the Soviet Union after the death of Leonid Brezhnev; Stephen Hess on the work of the journalists who cover the White House, the State Department and the Defense Department; and Robert Karl Manoff on the compatibility of a free press with the requirements of the nuclear regime. Also included are keynote addresses by Sidney Drell and Ralph Earle II, concluding remarks by James Fallows, and the views of such discussants as Anne Garrels of NBC, Judith Miller of *The New York Times*, Patricia Blake of *Time*, Hodding Carter, and Robert MacNeil. The Proceedings, 300 pages in length, were edited by David M. Rubin and Ann Marie Cunningham. The price is $15.

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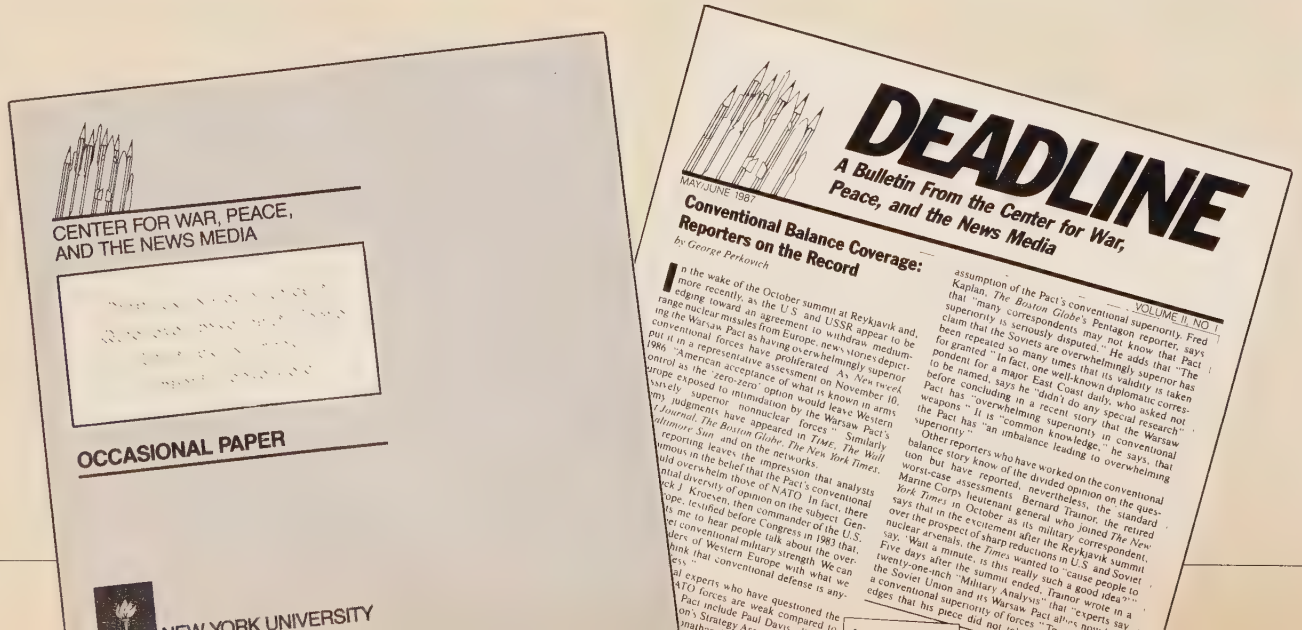
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by George Perkovich

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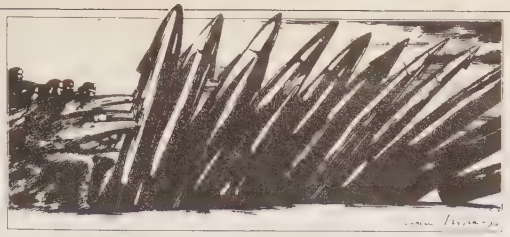

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by the Chicago Council on Foreign Affairs. "[Women] are more and more willing to express a difference of opinion from men," she points out. "Their opposition to the use of military aid and military force is striking. While men tend to see military assistance as a strategic tool, women aren't buying it. They see intervention as leading to conflict. For women, peace is a central issue."

This pronounced "gender consciousness" among women is perhaps why many of them have joined single-sex peace groups. These groups offer a safe haven for alternative visions of military and foreign policy for women who have been shut out of decision-making roles in government as well as in private mixed-gender groups.

But are women's peace groups qualitatively different than their mixed-gender counterparts? To a certain extent, yes.

Borrowing from the women's movement, many women's peace groups—particularly at the grassroots level—purposely avoid hierarchical structures, opting instead for a more cooperative, relaxed organizational style.

"We have a minimum of structure," says Polly Mann, co-director of Women Against Military Madness, a group based in Minneapolis. "We [the directors] act as implementors, following what women say they want to do."

A more traditional organizational structure is evident among the national women's groups, but, unlike mixed-gender groups, there is typically an emphasis on questioning experts and on urging women to assume control of their own lives.

"We focus on the specific perspective of 'empowering,'" says Diane Aronson, former executive director of WAND. "We educate our members on the issues, and our speaker's training program then helps women to become comfortable speaking about them." WAND's ultimate goal is to help its members run successfully for political office.

One area of controversy among movement members, and among women's groups themselves, is over whether there should be six national women's peace organizations. Some critics say the groups are redundant—they duplicate each other's work and compete for the same funding resources.

Most of the newer women's groups have been formed around one woman's personality and vision. Helen Caldicott founded WAND after a cross-country speaking tour in 1980 in which she met hundreds of women who were looking for a way to get involved in peace issues. Betty Bumpers, wife of Arkansas senator Dale Bumpers, formed Peace Links in 1982 as an entry-

National Women's Groups

Grandmothers for Peace, *909 12th St., #118, Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 444-5080.*

Since its founding in 1982, Grandmothers for Peace has provided a strong moral voice to the nuclear arms debate. Although it only has 500 members and a newsletter circulation of 2,000, GFP has many supporters and draws increased attention to peace actions.

This year GFP is focusing its efforts on promoting a Comprehensive Test Ban and a noninterventionist policy in Central America. The group is also trying to forge alliances with similar groups in other countries. In September, a GFP delegation will travel to meet with grandmothers in the Soviet Union.

Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament, *Box 2309, La Jolla, CA 93038 (619) 454-3343.*

Formed in 1985 by current director Linda Smith, MEND has an ambitious agenda of building a network of chapters to educate people about nuclear arms issues using the Mothers Against Drunk Driving campaign as a model.

MEND has 2,500 members in chapters in Charlotte, North Carolina; Minneapolis; Elizabeth, New Jersey; and San Diego.

Peace Links, *747 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.*

Founded by Betty Bumpers in 1982, Peace Links is a non-partisan network of 28,000 women working primarily through existing community groups to involve more people in the effort to prevent nuclear war. On the first Sunday of October, Peace Links sponsors Peace Day, a "patriotic celebration of peace." This year the group will encourage a nationwide education effort to learn more about the Soviet Union.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, *Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.*

WAND is the most openly political of the national women's organizations. Founded by Helen Caldicott in 1980, it now has 22,000 active members. In 1986, its PAC contributed more than $100,000 to 47 candidates.

Looking foward to the 1988 elections, WAND seeks to build a broader and more sophisticated membership through a speakers training program and a "house party" campaign to motivate those interested in peace to take action.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.*

WILPF is the oldest and most internationally oriented of the women's peace groups, having evolved into a multi-issue organization with more than 50,000 members in 25 countries since its founding in 1915. It publishes a newsletter and legislative bulletin and in 1975 and 1985 hosted women's disarmament seminars at the United Nations.

Last April WILPF launched a nationwide campaign to redefine national security from a woman's point of view, and in June the group held its biennial meeting of representatives from its 106 chapters and 15,000 members in the United States.

Women for a Meaningful Summit, *1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7492.*

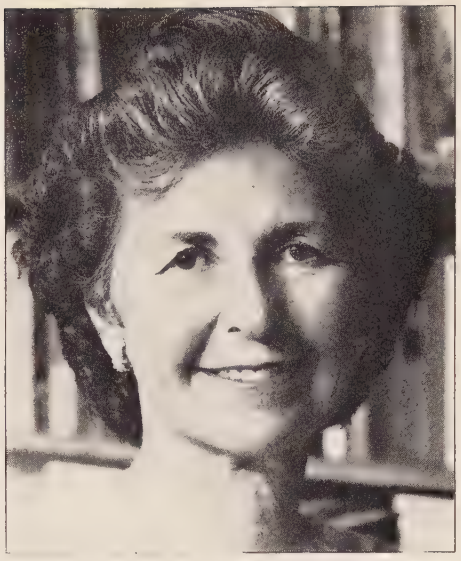
WMS was formed in August 1985 as an ad hoc coalition of international women's peace groups in response to the Geneva summit meeting. The group will participate in a major United Nations conference in late August on "Disarmament and Development."

Women Strike for Peace, *145 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 923-0861.*

WSP has been a major player in the disarmament movement ever since it originally formed in 1961 when 100,000 women gathered to protest atmospheric nuclear tests.

WSP's autonomous local branches have a total of 15,000 members and this year they are focusing on Star Wars. WSP sold and distributed more than 40,000 copies of its 1986 primer "Star Wars for the Legitimately Confused" and has developed an accompanying slide show. In addition, WSP publishes regular legislative alerts, newsletters and pamphlets. *—Robert Richie*

"There's definitely a feeling that we've left [foreign policy and military] issues to the men for too long, but I don't think that our members believe that the subjugation of women is part and parcel of the arms race."—Nina Solarz, executive director of Peace Links



point to peace work for women in middle America. And Linda Smith, daughter of McDonald's heiress Joan Kroc, started Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND) in 1985. Spokeswomen from both WAND and MEND recently acknowledged that their groups are having financial problems.

Last year, Women for a Meaningful Summit (WMS)—a coalition of the six groups—hosted a meeting with representatives from each of the organizations to discuss their similarities and differences. The consensus was that the groups complement each other by approaching the issues from varying perspectives and focusing on different constituencies. But they did agree to work more closely together, and, according to Aronson from WAND, the possibility of a merger between at least two of the groups is not out of the question. "I don't think there needs to be so many organizations," she says, "and we have seen what's possible with the Freeze/SANE merger. It would be great to sit down and talk about it."

Peace Links Executive Director Nina Solarz, however, disagrees. "The more groups we have the better," she says. "When we have 30 million in Peace Links and WAND has 50 million, then we can say we're successful."

The Feminist Mystique

Although there are six major national women's groups and dozens of local women's groups in the peace movement, the peace movement is not a feminist movement. While feminism does influence the 'empowerment' focus of these groups, its political theory is not widely articulated or discussed.

Reasons for this absence vary. Ethel Taylor of Women Strike for Peace (WSP) says that while its members believe feminism is important, "We're really more crisis oriented, wrapped up in screaming 'danger.'"

Nina Solarz from Peace Links also separates issues of feminism from her group's preoccupation with peace: "There's definitely a feeling that we've left these issues to the men for too long, but I don't think that our members believe that the subjugation of women is part and parcel of the arms race."

One can find a more radical analysis of militarism among a loosely linked network of women who entered peace work via the feminist movement. These women, who focus on transforming the patriarchal system, concentrate their efforts on decentralized local organizing and creative protests. They are often overlooked by members of more established peace groups who find their uncompromising politics and outspokenness either threatening or too idealistic to warrant serious attention.

"Our style is immediate and direct," explains Ynestra King, co-founder of the Women's Pentagon Action that organized 2,000 women to encircle the Pentagon in 1980. "We concentrate on organizing around the implementors of the arms race—the ones who make and deliver the weapons." In 1983, members of Women's Pentagon Action organized the "peace camp" just outside the Seneca Army Depot in Upstate New York, the departure point for nuclear missiles bound for Europe.

"People don't have a thorough understanding of patriarchy," says King. "We tie militarism to the domination of people—and that begins with the domination of women by men in families."

A segment of women in established, mixed-gender peace groups agrees that the movement too often leaves basic assumptions of society intact. We live in a sexist society, they say, and the forces on the movement are therefore sexist.

"I see some obsession within the movement with power as it's defined by mainstream society," says Chris Wing, co-coordinator of the Disarmament Program of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Philadelphia. "There's a lot of pressure on women, particularly in national organizations, to act like men. There's a sense of what's legitimate for discussion, and a limit on how fundamentally critical we can be."

While much work remains to be done in this area, some mixed-gender movement groups, such as the AFSC and Mobilization for Survival (MfS), and a least one women's group—the Women's International League Peace and Freedom—are developing task forces to organize around specifically feminist issues such as reproductive rights, and to deal with a group's internal issues of sexism and racism.

As a young woman coming into the movement several years ago, Melanie McAlister, a staff member for feminist and Middle East issues at MfS in Boston, was startled to see feminism treated as a relic of an earlier age.

"There's this idea that feminism is a thing that's 'been done,'" says McAlister. As a part of her feminist organizing, McAlister says she looks at how oppression works, how power is used, how men treat women and how the military is structured. But she also concentrates on the internal workings of MfS by going to meetings to see who is speaking and leading discussions.

"At many meetings, a lot of men speak all the time and are confrontational," she says. "And a lot of women never speak. Recently we tried to have a discussion about who gets to speak, and one of the men said he was tired of this 'touchy-feely stuff.' There is a feeling that the movement is under enough stress and strain already, and that dealing with women's issues is a luxury."

Cynthia Enloe, a poltical scientist at Clark University and author of *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*, says that peace groups must be vigilant in their efforts to root out sexism, especially as the peace movement becomes more entrenched as an institution. "Mixed-sex groups must ask themselves how self-conscious their anti-sexist policies are," she says. "If they're not energetically self-conscious, then they are sexist—there's nothing in between."

While women do head large, mixed-gender groups such as Physicians for Social Responsibility, Educators for Social

Responsibility, Jobs with Peace and the Freeze Campaign, stumbling blocks remain. Women are still, for the most part, saddled with addressing the stereotypical "women's" side of the peace and disarmament debate. As Leslie Cagan, a member of MfS's National Coordinating Committee remarks, "It would be refreshing to go to a conference and see a woman speaking on Star Wars technology instead of on 'Women and Something.'"

Budget Appeal

Increasingly, women activists are speaking out against the U.S. military budget and its impact on the poor, 80 percent of whom are women and children.

Jane Midgley, executive director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), for example, has authored "The Women's Budget," a comprehensive document calling for 50 percent of current military outlays to be used for social programs. Since its publication last year, WILPF chapters across the country have used the budget in political organizing and outreach, and WILPF members in 25 cities routinely send "Take Back the Budget" cards to their congressional representatives.

Sending cards to elected officials does not usually get tangible results, but Midgley says that is not what WILPF is necessarily after. "We think it's important to make bold proposals and have our congresspeople react to them, rather than work with what's 'possible,'" she says. "We like to think that we're helping to create a climate in which serious military budget cuts can be discussed."

WAND is also taking a closer look at the effects of the military budget on women, children and families. Local chapters of the group have had some success in holding joint fundraisers with community groups for the homeless, an activity that encourages an exchange of information while bringing in needed cash for both organizations.

Budget work is one of the few ways that the predominantly white, middle-class peace movement can bring women of color and the poor into the movement. For example, the Jobs with Peace Campaign, whose program completely redefines national budget priorities, has had some success in attracting a broader constituency—including non-white working women—to its activities in various cities. And one local group, Women Against Military Madness (WAMM) in Minneapolis, recently received a grant to work with low-income women on budget issues.

"The likelihood of a nuclear explosion won't keep women awake at night, but not being able to pay the grocery bill sure will," says Polly Mann of WAMM. WAMM members plan to speak at halfway houses, battered women's shelters and community colleges, not with the goal of bringing new women into WAMM, but to help others create their own educational network on the issue.

Women of the World

In conjunction domestic budget issues, women in the peace movement are working in greater numbers to address issues of economic justice in other countries. In March, members from all of the national women's peace groups agreed to expand Women for a Meaningful Summit's focus from arms control to include a better understanding of international peace and justice. "Women in other parts of the world are not primarily concerned with bringing a halt to testing," says former WMS chairwoman Karen Mulhauser. "Their concerns involve more basic survival issues."

World Women Parliamentarians for Peace is similarly combining peace work with issues of global equality and economic and social development. In 1985, when this group of women in government was founded, it had between 40 and 50 members. The group now has more than 600 members worldwide, including women from Mexico, Argentina, the Soviet Union, Kenya, Western Europe and New Zealand.

"By forging alliances across borders, women strengthen and encourage each other, and will eventually build a critical mass of women internationally, all pushing simultaneously for similar legislation [such as banning arms sales to regions of conflict]," says Pam Solo of the Institute for Peace and International Security. "This kind of support is crucial when you're in a minority position in your own country."

A critical mass of women is not going to come easily or quickly, and, in the meantime, substantial questions remain. Can women in positions of power with alternative ideas command attention? Or, as in the case of Pat Schroeder, will their voices be ignored more often than not? And more importantly, can women influence foreign policy without compromising their independent perspective? Wanting to maintain credibility, acting in the realm of compromise and special interests, how far might women stray from their original visions of peace?

Already, women in the movement and in government are trying to answer these questions of power. Their success will determine whether women's visions will become the world's reality. □

THREAT/Continued from page 15

single most phenomenal threat to the planet or try to reduce the needs for militarism by establishing a better relationship to the Earth, then it really isn't addressing the preservation of the Earth and the environment," Rauh said.

Rauh is a founder of the Peace and Environmental Project, which grew out of a coalition of organizations that sought to get strong environmental planks added to the 1984 Republican and Democratic platforms. Now the project is doing educational work for schools and organizations, relating nuclear war to a broad range of effects on society.

For Rauh, the concerns underlying the Sierra Club's election run far deeper than hiring a lobbyist to promote arms control.

"I've come to object to the word 'issues.'" Rauh said. "What we tend to do is treat life and death matters as issues, which you then pick and choose between. There is a marketplace of issues. You sell issues to members, and you acquire new members if you pick the right ones to sell. We don't see the relationship between them. They're symptoms of a society gone berserk."

Rauh would like to see the Sierra Club work to develop a "moral obligation" to protect the Earth, to develop "people-to-people, worldwide environmental restoration projects," and at the same time fight to enforce environmental laws, protect the forests—the traditional environmental actions the Club has carried out.

"I worry that what we are doing is preserving a corner of an institutionally viable relationship to Congress and ignoring our moral obligation to the Earth."

To a degree, Chad Dobson, the former anti-MX organizer, echoed Rauh's concerns.

"When you start at any place and look deeply enough, it all relates to everything," Dobson said. "We need leaders who understand these links and can articulate them.

"For instance, how are the rain forests important to the peace movement? The destruction of the world's rain forests is tied hand-in-glove to international debt, which is destabilizing countries in Latin America and Africa and putting pressure on us to support and maintain stable dictators. We are part of a downward spiral moving the world toward less security. The environment and peace movements are clearly tied to this. We have got to quit making these artificial separations.

"We cannot have national security if the rest of the world is starving to death and we're arming ourselves to the teeth." □

DESIGNING FOR PEACE

BY YUSAKU KAMEKURA

In 1983, Japan's greatest graphic designer, Yusaku Kamekura, created the first "Hiroshima Appeals" poster for peace—a visionary image of burning butterflies—and launched a poster campaign by Japanese graphic artists. Since that year, the Japan Graphic Design Association (JAGDA), an association of Japan's most prominent designers, has organized an annual "Peace Poster Exhibition" to present the works of its members on the theme of world peace.

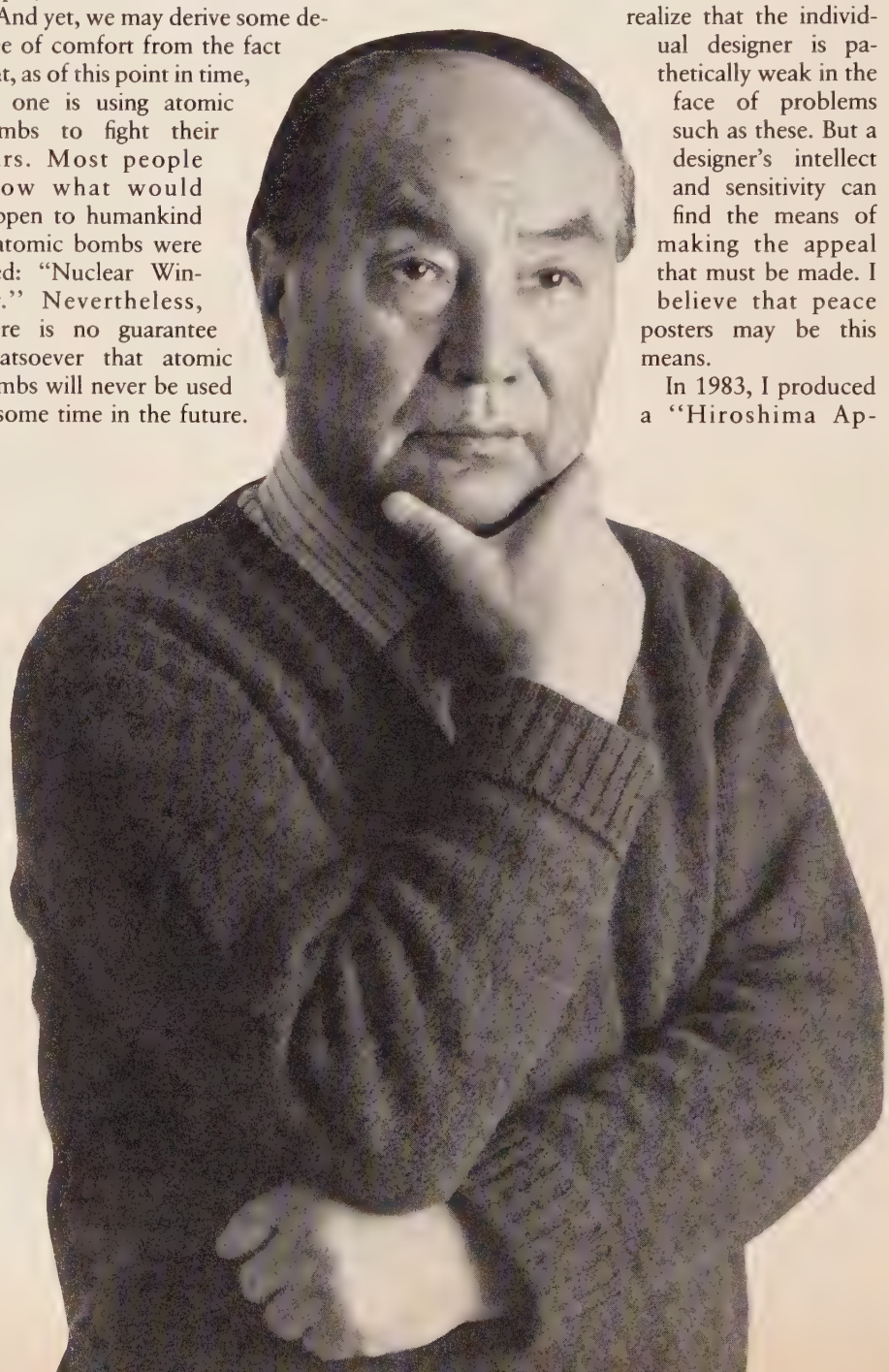
Kamekura and the 135 other Japanese artists who participated in the first show inspired graphic designers in the Soviet Union and the United States to create their own peace posters. The next year, the Soviets collected 4,000 posters from 55 countries, 2,800 of which were from the U.S.S.R., and exhibited them at the Moscow International Peace Concourse. Two years later, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the atomic attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Charles Michael Helmken, founder and president of the Washington, D.C.-based Shoshin Society, organized an "Images for Survival" exhibit of 126 posters by top American graphic designers. These posters were shown side-by-side with posters by Japanese artists in August 1985 at the Hiroshima Museum of Art, the Cooper Union Gallery in New York and at International Square in Washington, D.C.

The 1987 JAGDA exhibit will include, for the first time, peace posters by graphic designers from all over the world. The "JAGDA Peace Posters International Exhibition" will be shown initially at the Hiroshima Museum of Art from July 18 to August 7 to coincide with the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, and then subsequently in Tokyo, Osaka and major cities throughout the world.

The 72-year-old Kamekura spoke in early April in Washington, D.C. on the nature of peace posters at a celebration of Japanese graphic design sponsored by the Shoshin Society and the ISE Cultural Foundation, Tokyo. For Kamekura, a successful peace poster must convey "a sense of poetry and an element of drama." Below is a condensed version of his speech.

War in any age, in any form, is...blind, selfish and self-righteous. Even today, 40 years after the end of such a war of self-righteous[ness], is there anyone who can say that he really likes war? I would find it hard to believe that such a foolish person could still exist. Yet even so, somewhere on earth a war is being waged at this very moment. Stupid, irrational behavior continues.

And yet, we may derive some degree of comfort from the fact that, as of this point in time, no one is using atomic bombs to fight their wars. Most people know what would happen to humankind if atomic bombs were used: "Nuclear Winter." Nevertheless, there is no guarantee whatsoever that atomic bombs will never be used at some time in the future.



That is why, before the mechanism of war goes haywire, we must pool our human wisdom and make sure that the atom bombs [like the ones] detonated over Hiroshima and Nagasaki are never permitted to drop again on any city on Earth.

What should we, as graphic designers, do to prevent nuclear war and create a world free from atomic bombs? I realize that the individual designer is pathetically weak in the face of problems such as these. But a designer's intellect and sensitivity can find the means of making the appeal that must be made. I believe that peace posters may be this means.

In 1983, I produced a "Hiroshima Ap-

To commemorate Hiroshima Day, Yusaku Kamekura, Japan's premier graphic designer, discusses the nature of peace posters. For Kamekura, a peace poster is successful if it conveys 'a sense of poetry and an element of drama.'

peals" poster. It portrays a fantasy scene in which a multitude of beautiful butterflies are falling from the sky in flames. I chose this subject because I thought that the pathetic sadness of something beautiful burning to destruction could convey the horror of an atomic bomb better than a realistic description. This poster was created in cooperation with the Japan Graphic Designers Association (JAGDA) and the Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation as a part of a plan to produce one Hiroshima Appeals poster each year as an appeal for world peace. My poster was the first of the series.

In creating my Hiroshima Appeals poster, I made public the following stance espoused by JAGDA:

"Hiroshima Appeals posters should be produced from a strictly neutral position transcending all political, philosophical or religious considerations. They should avoid expressing realistic scenes of the tragedy caused by the atomic bomb, and should not be a vehicle of official anti-war or peace campaigns. They should seek a new format for what a peace poster should be.

"JAGDA believes that what the citizens of Hiroshima seek is a poster that incorporates a prayer for peace and a message against war, while still maintaining beauty and dignity. I believe, however, that to respond to this mission is the most solemn and difficult challenge a designer can face."

Japanese graphic designers have to date produced an enormous number of peace posters, perhaps 300 or so by my estimate. This represents a huge accumulation of energy, and yet all of the works have been produced at the designers' own expense.

Naturally, these posters vary a great deal in quality. Some strike a responsive chord in the viewer; others are merely formalistic expressions. Some are technically superior but have nothing to say; others are unsophisticated in technique but appeal strongly. They are all the products of their creators' sensitivities and philosophies.

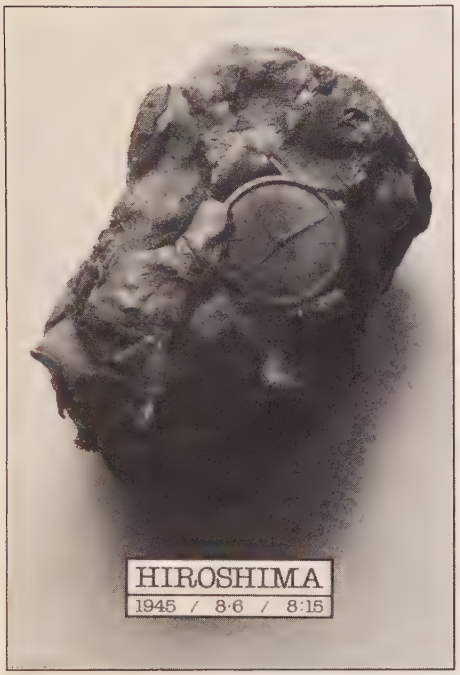
Taken at their worst, the production of peace posters may even be considered a fad. This phenomenon is fraught with an element of danger—the danger that "peace" may be spoken of too lightly, that it is merely one material that may be freely used as a design expression. If this type of thinking were to persist, the masses will turn away.

I believe that peace is a matter of great solemnity. It is something that should be spoken of and thought about with an attitude of respect and sincerity. I also believe that there is no problem so close to us and yet so difficult. Peace is the highest ideal of mankind, and we must do everything within our means to see it realized. This is something that all human beings should be expected to understand and hope for. Therefore I strongly feel the urgency of putting an immediate end to all wars that are now being waged on this earth.

War does not bring mankind even one iota of joy. All it brings is much sadness.

Yusaku Kamekura [left] designed the first Hiroshima Appeals poster [above left] in 1983, which launched the annual Japanese peace poster campaign. It was illustrated by Akira Yokoyama. McRay Magleby, a designer at Brigham Young University in Utah, designed "Wave of Peace" [middle] for the joint Japanese-American "Images for Survival" exhibit in 1985. Seymour Chwast, the New York-based designer who created "Peace Child" [right] for the "Images for Survival" exhibit, says that "the fate of the Earth is in the children's hands."

Designers must have an all-encompassing passion for peace. Only through a display of such passion can they produce peace posters that will truly stir people's hearts.



Posters from the Japanese-American "Images for Survival" exhibit in 1985 [left to right]: Fujio Mizutani's "Hiroshima Watch," Tom Geismar's "My Daughter's Hand" and James Thorpe's "Fallout Shelter?" The exhibit was held in Hiroshima, New York and Washington, D.C.

Unfortunately, in the Second World War the Japanese made enemies of the United States and ended up fighting a war against Americans. But the majority of Japanese at the time were very fond of America, and they were doing their best to understand American culture. Most Japanese movie theaters, for example, were showing Hollywood films. And the game of baseball, which was so popular among Americans, was also extremely popular among Japanese. In fact, the Japanese were almost baseball fanatics, with games being played at all educational levels from grade school to university. In small mountain villages and big cities alike, amateur sandlot baseball was immensely popular. And then, as soon as the war with America started, the Japanese government began to suppress baseball, because it was considered to be a sport of the enemy. American movies were forbidden too, but people continued to play baseball in secret.

The U.S. B-29 long-distance bombers took off from the faraway island of Saipan, heading for Japan. At the time, air raids were always carried out in the morning. I once read the air raid notes of a B-29 pilot. Here in summary is how the notes read:

"Directly below us was the beautiful green scenery of Japan. The roofs of the houses seemed to sparkle in the sunlight. What looked like many white dots were running around in what appeared to be a large vacant lot. I wondered what it was. I asked a fellow crew member to check it out for me. Looking through a powerful telescope, he suddenly let out a wild yell: 'Those guys down there are playing baseball!' The cockpit then fell dead silent. Not another word was spoken."

The crew of the B-29, no doubt, had been painfully struck by the deep sadness of war.

I believe that a peace poster must have two vital ingredients: a sense of poetry and an element of drama. Consider, for example, the notes of the B-29 pilot. There is beautiful poetry in the greenness of the Japanese landscape and the scene of the boys playing baseball. And yet, only minutes later this poetry turns to a living hell through the destruction of the fallen bomb. A peace poster must convey the drama, the sadness of this tragedy.

I repeat. A peace poster must contain a sense of poetry and an element of drama. Without these two ingredients, it lacks depth of expression and is diluted and dull. And if it is dull, it cannot open the door to the heart of the viewer. Only by deeply penetrating inside the heart of the viewer can a poster arouse his or her conscience.

To accomplish this feat designers must have an all-encompassing passion for peace. Only through a display of such passion can they produce peace posters that will truly stir the hearts of the people. □

A full-color catalogue of more than 200 posters from the 1985 joint American-Japanese "Images for Survival" exhibit is available for a tax-deductible donation of $20 to the Shoshin Society, 1280 21st St. NW, Suite 410, Washington, DC 20036. McRay Magleby's 24 by 36 inch "Wave of Peace" poster depicted on page 25 is also available from the Shoshin Society for a tax-deductible donation of $75.

JAGDA plans to publish a catalogue of this year's exhibit. For more information, write JAGDA at 5F, Daiichi Naoki Bldg., 11-14, Minami-Aoyama 2-chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo 107, Japan.

RESEARCH & ANALYSIS/WILLIAM A. GAMSON

REFRAMING THE DEBATE

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT IS A STRUGGLE OVER LANGUAGE AND PERCEPTION

I have watched with dismay as "SDI" has gradually replaced "Star Wars" in the language of its critics. The latter term was a lucky gift, dropped into the laps of those who recognized the folly of this program, and we in the peace movement have heedlessly contributed to the erosion of its use. This negligence reflects some lack of understanding and insensitivity to what is involved in symbolic contests.

Labels matter. What something is called suggests how to think about it—an organizing frame for making sense of it. Names suggest frames and frames contain within them, a host of unexamined, taken-for-granted assumptions. By using certain words or phrases, we inadvertently accept a whole package, hidden assumptions and all.

The term "Star Wars" suggests that the program in question is about the extension of the Cold War and the arms race into space. That is exactly how it should be framed. That the media seized on this term from American popular culture to characterize the program is one of those strokes of good fortune that the Fates now and then bestow on a typically defensive and reactive peace movement.

But the media are only one important actor in a symbolic contest with other major actors. Naming struggles—that is, contests over what something should be called—are really struggles about how an issue and relevant events should be framed. Nothing misses the point more than such dismissing comments as "This is just an argument about semantics." It is a struggle about interpretation and meaning and, ultimately, about people's consciousness.

In the case of the Star Wars program, the Reagan administration was clearly unhappy with the term. We have striking evidence of this from Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign debates with Walter Mondale. Reagan referred to the Strategic Defense Initiative but was forced to add "the so-called Star Wars program" to make sure his audience understood the reference. The use of so-called and quotation marks—sometimes in juxtaposition—is a sure sign that a naming struggle is in process. They distance the speaker or writer from the term, implying that this is the way others refer to it.

The Reagan administration's first choice probably would have been the "Peace Shield." The frame implied here is that the program is about protecting the public from nuclear bombs falling on them, an anodyne to the terror of nuclear war. This has a powerful and universal appeal—we all seek soothing anodynes.

But to get from Star Wars to the Peace Shield is a difficult frame transformation. Journalists have read their Orwell and overly blatant attempts at renaming have too many resonances with "Newspeak." To be successful in naming struggles, we must understand journalistic practices and norms and operate with greater sophistication.

The Strategic Defense Initiative, and especially its acronym, SDI, was a well-chosen substitute for the Peace Shield. It is part of a techno-bureaucratic discourse that Paul Chilton, in his book of the same name, has cleverly labeled "Nukespeak." This discourse is depersonalized, abstract, and filled with acronyms that only the initiated know. It excludes ordinary citizens from direct participation, encouraging them to yield the subject to the experts. It is the language of nuclear strategists and dominates the discourse of those who concern themselves professionally with issues of nuclear arms policy. To be taken seriously, one must either speak it, or demonstrate that one understands it but is self-consciously choosing an alternative.

Media publications that wish to be "taken seriously" will inevitably gravitate to a Nukespeak term such as SDI over a popular culture term such as Star Wars. There is no obvious manipulation or reframing here as in adopting Peace Shield. Rather, it is a switch to a more antiseptic, frame-neutral acronym whose sub-text is "Leave these complicated, technical matters to the nuclear experts who know what they're doing." This may be less satisfactory than the powerful resonances of Peace Shield but, from the standpoint of SDI supporters, the term is a vast improvement over Star Wars.

It is thoroughly predictable and perhaps inevitable that *The New York Times* should adopt SDI as its preferred term. But it does surprise me that so many writers who are critical should cast aside a term that implies their own frame. Partly, it suggests the dominance of Nukespeak discourse as the rhetoric one must use to be taken seriously in policy debates. But it also suggests a lack of understanding of the nature of symbolic struggles and the impor-

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tance of frames and political language in carrying them on successfully.

Changing Media Discourse. The naming struggle over Star Wars is an example of one skirmish in a continuing contest over framing issues of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. The peace movement contains a set of organizations and advocacy networks with an important stake in influencing this contest. They sponsor certain frames, suggesting interpretations of specific events and actions such as a new Soviet offer on nuclear weapons reductions in Europe or a U.S. decision to exceed the limits of the SALT II agreement.

Mass media commentary is the central arena for this contest. The frames that are most successful here will influence what is taken for granted and what is considered arguable by political elites. Furthermore, it will influence the attentive public thereby affect political support in election campaigns and the flow of money and volunteer help to peace organizations and their antagonists.

One can, of course, try to influence nuclear policy makers more directly by writing articles for *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security* and other specialized journals. But policymaking is ultimately a political process and media discourse will have a much greater influence on the political parameters that create opportunities and constraints for such insiders. Furthermore, the rules of discourse that apply in such forums inevitably include the acceptance of many assumptions that a critic may wish to challenge.

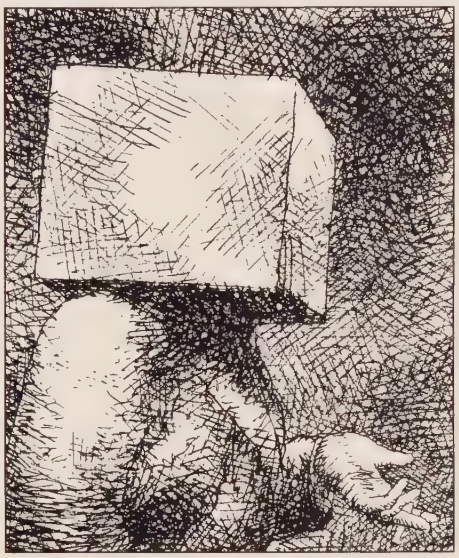
To be effective in such symbolic contests, one must understand the process by which frames ebb and flow over time in media discourse. On the issue of preventing nuclear war, one must understand why one particular frame has remained so dominant, how its dominance constrains the efforts of the peace movement, and in what ways it is vulnerable to challenge. I will illustrate the general process by which media discourse is determined by examining the success of the dominant frame on preventing nuclear war, "Peace Through Strength."

It is difficult to be fair in the statement of a frame that is not one's own. An adequate statement should meet the following fundamental ground rule: it should be accepted as fair by an advocate. If an advocate says, "I wouldn't put it quite that way," this rule has not been met and the frame is being refracted through the another frame.

Peace Through Strength: At issue is the best way to deal with a bully. The best way to deal with a bully like the Soviet Union is to be strong but not provocative. The danger of war comes when we, by appearing weak, encourage the bully to take advantage of us. Then we cannot avoid fighting back.

The success of a frame in media discourse is determined by three general factors. Together they shape the form the final product will take.

1. *Sponsorship.* The success of any frame is the result of efforts by those who want to promote it. Sponsorship is more than mere advocacy, involving such tangible activities as speechmaking, advertising and writing.



Once supremacy is established, activity on behalf of a frame is less direct and conspicuous. One can invoke it with a handy condensing symbol. One can refer, for example, to the "overwhelming Soviet superiority in conventional forces in Europe" without analysis, elaboration or defense. Nevertheless, some repetition is necessary to prevent spontaneous decay and to meet any challenges that rival sponsors offer.

Activity on behalf of Peace Through Strength was especially visible in the immediate post-World-War-Two period when the framing of the nuclear threat was most fluid and the Cold War frame of the Soviet Union was not fully entrenched. Paul Boyer, in his book *By the Bomb's Early Light,* gives numerous examples of self-conscious efforts on the part of American political elites to alter public discourse on nuclear weapons. There were efforts, for example, to downplay the dangers of dangers of radiation and the consequences of nuclear war, and to redirect terror about nuclear destruction to fear of the spread of communism.

Boyer shows, for example, how William S. Parsons, a career naval officer and member of the Manhattan Project, devoted himself to the careful monitoring and influencing of media coverage on matters related to atomic weapons. It was necessary, in Parsons' view, to overcome the "atomic neurosis" and "unhealthy hysteria" around the issue of radioactivity. When David Bradley, author of the 1948 best-seller *No Place to Hide* was scheduled to appear on the "Town Meeting of the Air" radio show, Parsons urged the Atomic Energy Commission to place a person with "wit and imagination" as a "careful plant" in the studio audience to raise questions that would discredit Bradley.

A great deal of active sponsorship has gone into promoting the Soviet threat. Indeed, the Soviet military appears to have no more fervent admirer than the U.S. Department of Defense. In 1981, the Pentagon issued a pamphlet, complete with richly colored illustrations, on "Soviet Military Power." As with any loyal booster, the weaknesses and problems of the esteemed are glossed over. The pamphlet indicates, for example, that "while small by comparison to the U.S. Marine Corps, the Soviet Naval Infantry is the second largest marine force in the world." It does not mention, as Andrew Cockburn notes in his book *The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine,* that "the Soviet marine force is one-fifteenth the size of the American equivalent. Moreover, the Soviet force is not the second largest marine force in the world but the fifth largest."

Periods of Soviet-American detente are problematic for Peace Through Strength because official activity on its behalf is muted. But during these periods, private sponsors allied with elements in both major political parties continued to promote it. Many Reagan administration officials were active in the Committee on the Present Danger, The American Heritage Foundation and other private sponsoring organizations. During the last half of the 1970s, they wrote magazine articles, made speeches and otherwise promoted Peace Through Strength in public discourse.

2. *Media Practices.* Journalists unconsciously give official frames the benefit of the doubt. In some cases, the assumptions contained in them are simply taken for granted. But even when they are challenged by sponsors of alternative frames, it is these competitors who carry the burden of proof. Official frames are the starting point for media commentary.

Various observers have noted how subtly this process operates. David Halberstam in *The Powers That Be* describes how Walter Cronkite's concern with avoiding controversy led him to accept the assumptions

underlying official packages: "To him, editorializing was going against the government. He had little awareness, nor did his employers want him to, of the editorializing which he did automatically by unconsciously going along with the government's position."

In addition to this tendency to fall into official definitions of an issue, journalists typically have routine on-the-beat relationships with official sponsors. Most reporting is the product of ongoing news routines. This dependency on official sources is particularly true of reporters who cover nuclear arms policy. Journalists and their sources in the Pentagon and the State Department commonly have well-established relationships based on mutual trust. As with any beat, there is a tendency to adopt the frames of one's sources, which increases with sustained contact.

Reporters describe incidents in which they were allowed to see portions of classified documents supporting claims made by sources, even though they did not possess appropriate security clearances. This works especially well with threat enhancement since it is difficult (although not impossible) to check claims about Soviet capabilities with sources who do not share the Peace Through Strength perspective.

But there are some news norms that favor competition as well. In news accounts, interpretation is generally provided through quotations. The balance norm is met by quoting spokespersons with supposedly competing views.

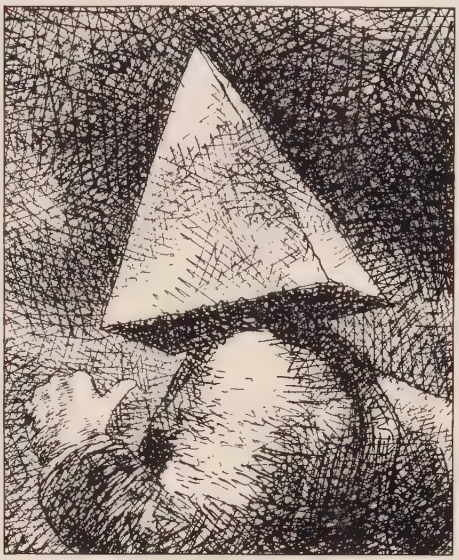
The balance norm is vague, and the practices that follow from it do not necessarily allow fundamental challenges to the frame. Journalists think in terms of two competing positions—for and against. Many such disagreements take place within a shared frame, accepting common assumptions and differing only on the relative effectiveness of some specific program or policy.

The balance norm, however, is rarely interpreted to include challenger frames. Gaye Tuchman, in *The TV Establishment*, argues that balance in television news "means in practice that Republicans may rebut Democrats and vice-versa" but that "supposedly illegitimate challengers" are rarely offered the opportunity to criticize governmental statements. Instead, she suggests, reporters search for an "establishment critic" or for a "'responsible spokesman' whom they themselves created or promoted to a position of prominence."

3. *Cultural Resonances.* Not all symbols are equally potent. Certain frames are successful, in part, because the ideas and language used to express them resonate with larger cultural themes. When the language resonates with larger themes, the package appears to be natural and familiar.

For frames on nuclear war, larger themes of loyalty, patriotism and national pride are especially relevant. If symbols of national identity that invoke these themes can be appropriated by certain frames, journalists and the public will more likely listen to the underlying frame. But it is possible for skillful sponsors to neutralize the effect of resonating themes by playing off the themes used by rivals.

Peace Through Strength relies heavily on



symbolism about national pride: "Standing tall," and "We can't afford to be number two in defense." Those who criticize U.S. policy in the international arena are those "who always blame America first." These themes are actively exploited by innuendo or direct accusation against the loyalty of those who offer alternative frames.

Peace Through Strength, then, is a heavily sponsored frame, strongly reinforced by media norms and practices, and carefully attached to national identity and pride. This support system has been able to remain intact through changes in national administrations. It would be foolish to expect any easy success in ending the dominance of Peace Through Strength. But it is not invulnerable.

Alternative Frames. The right has mounted the most significant challenge to Peace Through Strength with a frame we can call "Armageddon": The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is a clash between the forces of good and evil. A nuclear war represents the final clash between these forces. The Soviet Union is a messianic power, an evil empire bent on achieving its vision of the world. No peaceful coexistence with it is possible in the long run. If nuclear war comes it will be because of our failure of will and God's decision that the human race does not deserve to survive. We can help to prevent it by our prayers and by confronting and resisting evil where it occurs in the world.

There are secular and religious variations of this frame. The secularists talk of protracted conflict and the need to pursue a policy of victory rather than stalemate. Its advocates are deeply skeptical of arms control and other agreements on specific issues and regard Soviet concessions as tactical moves to achieve future advantages. Given the zero-sum nature of the underlying conflict, such agreements are not the road to peace and should be pursued only if they promise long-term advantage.

In spite of disagreements on such specifics as arms control agreements, advocates of the Armageddon perspective can make common cause with Peace Through Strength advocates on many policies, support for increased military spending among them. Both perspectives share Cold War assumptions.

The organizations and advocacy networks that comprise the American peace movement have no single, common frame to offer as a substitute for the two Cold War perspectives. There are several competitors:

- *Conflict Resolution:* We live in a world where rival empires are struggling for power and dominance. The international system is especially unstable because it does not have the kind of devices that can regulate conflict within a society such as police and courts. Conflicts are bound to erupt in a power struggle and there are not enough ways to keep the conflict from becoming violent. The answer is in finding better methods of conflict management—negotiation, mediation, arbitration—and in strengthening international and transnational bodies that can limit and regulate conflict.
- *Arms Race*; The arms race between countries has a life of its own, independent of the conflicts that might have started it. We cannot prevent conflicts from arising and nations from using force, but we can hope to prevent the conflicts being waged with nuclear weapons. Military, business and political interests within the nuclear powers form powerful coalitions pushing for more weapons that have no military usefulness. This helps to keep the arms race and the whole malignant process going and increases the danger of nuclear war.
- *North-South*: The same structures of domination that lie behind racism, sexism and classism within the United States are expressed internationally by superpower dominance over Third World countries.

Your $25 could buy the government a hearing aid.

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Card No. (all digits, please)

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Signature

The challenge to this structure of domination produces instability and crises that increase the risk of nuclear war. But these crises are only symptoms. They will continue to occur unless the structures of domination are challenged directly.

■ *Consciousness:* Nuclear weapons have changed everything about war except our way of thinking about it. We have to stop thinking in terms of national interests and think in terms of humanity. War begins in people's minds. We live in one, interconnected world, and until people understand this, the danger of nuclear war will remain. We are not Americans, Soviets and other nationalities but one set of interdependent individuals, inhabiting the same vulnerable planet.

In contrast to the two Cold War perspectives, all of the alternatives generated by the peace movement have one thing in common, what James Wertsch, a linguistics professor at Northwestern university, calls "the scope of identification," which refers to the group one implicitly identifies with in discourse about nuclear war. In the two Cold War perspectives, the scope of identification is the nation state. And the United States is assumed to be fundamentally different from its adversary. The "free world" is fundamentally different from the "communist world."

The peace movement alternatives share an international or global scope of identification. They have a third party or transcendental perspective. The superpowers tend to be seen as symmetrical actors in international affairs—two nuclear nations who define their interests globally and are more alike than different in their pursuit of national power.

To adopt a frame with a global scope of identification does not imply that the international arena is the only realm of action. Mark Sommer, in *Beyond the Bomb*, paraphrases Rene Dubos's advice, "Think globally, act locally." He writes, "Think globally, act nationally." One can recognize that national actors are, for the time, the only ones with the effective power to make change, and still maintain a global identification.

Peace Movement Dilemmas. There is a fundamental dilemma in challenging any dominant frame. To what extent should we adapt to the rules of this discourse in order to be taken seriously and avoid challenging well-imbedded, taken-for-granted assumptions? The Nuclear Freeze, for example, found rapid and broad support by affirming the Peace Through Strength perspective's emphasis on bilateralism and deterrence.

Many would argue that affirming the dominant frame was its ultimate weakness as well. There is no simple answer to this dilemma. But consider a few of the specific dilemmas that confront the peace movement today: Is it better to limit our focus to controlling or getting rid of nuclear weapons? Or should we address issues of U.S.-Soviet relations and North-South relations as well?

Here, the answer seems clear. With the exception of the Arms Race perspective, all of the alternative frames assume that the discourse should be more broadly defined. But even if this is one's primary frame, its global perspective will inevitably be undermined by the simple and inevitable question: What about the Soviets?

Furthermore, U.S. citizens have legitimate concerns about security and the nature of the Soviet regime and, if we simply leave the field to the answers offered by the Cold War perspectives, there is no hope at all for different foreign and military policies. Avoiding this challenge is simply conceding the symbolic contest in advance rather than engaging in it.

But how do we challenge Cold War perspectives on the Soviet Union? If we apologize for the Soviet Union, we are put at a severe disadvantage. And if we denounce the Soviet Union, we inadvertently strengthen the very Cold War perspective that we are attempting to challenge.

It takes some skill, but there have been some notably successful attempts to do it. My favorite is the pamphlet by veteran peace activist Sandy Gottlieb called "What about the Russians?" Having used it in courses, I can testify that mainstream students regard it as a fair-minded and helpful corrective to oversimplified media interpretations of Soviet behavior.

To what extent should we challenge the national versus the global level of identification? This is the cruelest dilemma of all. My tentative and unsatisfactory answer is that we must both accept it and challenge it at the same time. To win elections, referenda and legislative battles, it is difficult to take on the whole dominant perspective. An attack on the entire edifice will cut into the broad coalition we need to win immediate battles.

But the peace movement needs to work on furthering the careers of its alternative frames in media discourse as well. Media strategies must view any specific campaign as a means to reframe the nuclear discourse. Without such a focus, even the occasional victories will be fleeting. □

William Gamson teaches sociology at Boston College. He is author of The Strategy of Social Protest.

BOOKS/ROBERT SCHAEFFER

PROLIFERATION

NEW DEVELOPMENTS UNDERMINE TEST BANS AND DETERRENCE

Going Nuclear *by Leonard Spector ($9.95 paperback, 379 pages, Ballinger, 1987).*

When confronted with evidence indicating that Pakistan had recently acquired nuclear weapons, Pakistani President Muhammed Zia al-Haq told reporters that the United States should not worry about his country's "tiddly-widdly nuclear program."

But the acquisition of nuclear weapons by a country that since 1947 has three times gone to war against neighboring India—which has already tested a bomb of its own—cannot be dismissed as insignificant tiddly-widdly.

Leonard Spector, author of two previous books on proliferation has investigated nuclear programs around the world. *Going Nuclear* examines the efforts of various nuclear-weapons-seeking states to develop the bomb and assesses the risks associated with proliferation. Two important lessons emerge from his informative account of contemporary developments.

First, legally obtained nuclear power plants are the cornerstone of any illicit nuclear weapons program. They supply the infrastructure, technology and, eventually, the weapons-grade materials necessary to make bombs. As A.Q. Khan, director of Pakistan's nuclear program, said recently, "Once you know how to run a reactor, how to produce plutonium and reprocess it, it becomes a rather. . . . easy task to produce nuclear weapons."

Spector reviews the connection between legal nuclear power and illegal nuclear weapons programs in a number of countries. Without extensive nuclear power programs, which are typically built with the assistance of states that have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, it is unlikely that non-signatory states such as India, Pakistan and Israel could have built bombs.

Second, new technologies undermine arms control and deterrence. Spector notes that innovations such as flash X-ray machines, which enable scientists to test bomb designs and components without actually detonating a nuclear device, permit countries to develop reliable nuclear weapons without full-scale tests. This means that test ban treaties are less effective deterrents to weapons development than arms controllers previously thought. It is clear that states could sign test ban treaties and still develop workable weapons.

Because they do not have to test fully new weapons, governments can avoid the widespread condemnation that testing provokes. And they can adopt a two-faced approach to their superpower allies and to their potential enemies: we have not tested a bomb, which means that we are *not* a nuclear threat, but we have the means to build reliable weapons, so we *are* a threat.

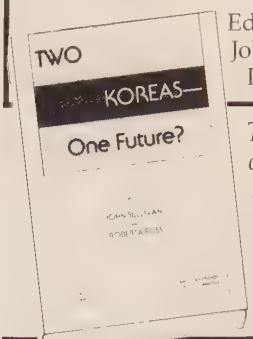
This approach, best expressed by Israel's policy that it "will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons" in the Middle East, is intended to assuage superpower concern *and* to stimulate the anxiety of its foes. The result of this policy however, is to encourage other states in the region—Iran, Iraq and Libya—to acquire their own weapons.

In addition, this two-track approach makes regional deterrence impossible. For the United States and the Soviet Union, effective deterrence depends on a detailed knowledge of the kind and quantity of weapons possessed by the other. Where the threat is ambiguous, as it is in the Middle East and Asia, the temptation to treat it as a bluff or to launch preemptive, first-strike attacks on an opponent's nuclear facilities is greater than it is where the retaliatory capacity one's opponent is known, as it is in the more "mature" relationship enjoyed by the superpowers.

Although Spector describes how various states acquire nuclear weapons, he does not explain why they do. For most, he says, it is a matter of national pride. But if one looks at the historical record, there are more important reasons. Since World War II, the superpowers have threatened a number of states with nuclear weapons. According to the Brookings Institution, the United States has threatened to use nuclear weapons 21 times; the Soviet Union three or four times. China, India, Israel and France have been among the states on the receiving end. Is it surprising that they subsequently developed their own nuclear weapons?

Spector notes that the superpowers have tried, with some success, to dissuade states from acquiring nuclear weapons. They have convinced Argentina, Brazil, Taiwan

TWO KOREAS–ONE FUTURE?



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and North and South Korea not to acquire nuclear weapons. But they have failed to prevent China, India, Israel and Pakistan from doing so.

Spector is critical of superpower attempts to curb proliferation. He notes that the Reagan administration recently debated whether to cut off aid for Pakistan, which it is supposed to do if it has evidence that Pakistan has developed a bomb. But because Pakistan plays an important role as a U.S. ally in Asia, the aid was approved. This raises serious questions about the administration's willingness or ability to restrain its allies' weapons programs.

Because many states have access to commercial nuclear power facilities and to new technologies that make it possible to develop weapons without full-scale testing, developments that undermine arms control and deterrence and increase the threat of war, Spector is pessimistic about attempts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. "Despite the occasional bright spots," he says, "the events described in this book are discouraging."

Spector's pessimism is well founded. Unless these challenges are addressed, the number of states with the means and motivation to develop and use nuclear weapons will continue to grow.

In Brief

Nuclear Fallacy: Dispelling the Myth of Nuclear Strategy *by Morton H. Halperin ($19.95, 173 pp, Ballinger, 1987).* Halperin criticizes the view held by the "national security bureaucracy" that U.S. nuclear threats and first-strike policy effectively deter nuclear and conventional wars and that nuclear weapons should be deployed alongside conventional forces. His cogent essay outlines alternative strategies and policies that should be developed to reduce the threat of war. —*R.S.*

March to Armageddon: The United States **and the Nuclear Arms Race, 1939 to Present** *by Ronald Powaski ($19.95, 300 pages, Oxford University Press, 1987).* The arms race and arms control go together like peanut butter and jelly. Powaski's accessible and scholarly history shows how the development of new weapons spurred arms control initiatives, which called forth the development of new and different weapons, which then needed to be controlled by new treaties. A high school history teacher in Euclid, Ohio, Powaski describes in clear detail the weapons development and arms control policies of presidents from Truman to Reagan. He examines the various strategies, weapons, initiatives, and treaties and shows how ideas, such as President Johnson's 1964 "freeze" proposal to the Soviets, emerged and reemerged, almost two decades later, in contemporary nuclear weapons freeze proposals. This comprehensive survey will be a basic resource for would-be arms controllers and disarmament activists. It's on my desk next to the dictionary. —*R.S.*

Nuclear Voices *edited by Peter Bollen ($6.95 paperback, 229 pages, Hillside Books, 1986).* "Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants." This quote by General Omar Bradley is just one of the many fascinating and diverse opinions on the nuclear threat found in Peter Bollen's new book. In this well-organized and informative volume, Bollen has compiled the thoughts—peaceful and militaristic, hopeful and gloomy—of former presidents, scientists, politicians, writers, religious leaders and others. While it is great source of quotes for anyone writing or speaking on this topic, the book is also a rewarding browse. In addition to quotes selected from other works, *Nuclear Voices* contains articles, poetry—and even a song—submitted by authors specifically for this book.

—*Leon Tune*

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NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT

Coalition

Lobbying Against Contra Aid

Eleanor Milroy is the field director for the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy's Central America program. She speaks with a quiet passion about her work and the situation in Central America.

"We don't want to just sit back and wait for the administration or Congress to present us with their program for Central America. We want to put forward an alternative that emphasizes human rights and peace. We plan to build support and try to shape the debate on the issue."

Milroy describes the history of U.S. involvement in the area: "This administration created and shaped the contras in 1981 with the remnants of the Somoza regime. Originally, they provided covert aid which Congress eventually ended. We were successful in preventing aid to the contras until 1985 when $27 million dollars were approved. This was described as 'humanitarian aid.' There was a major escalation in 1986 when $100 million was approved. Today the question of aid is the focus of debate in the Iran-contra hearings. Did the administration violate the rules? The evidence is that they did."

Milroy is also chairwoman of the Central America Field group—a coalition of groups doing grassroots organizing on Central American issues. "I really feel that the momentum on this issue has shifted to the grassroots," says Milroy. "A majority of Americans has always opposed U.S. intervention there, but that opposition is increasing. We're working to mobilize people and make that opposition clear to members of Congress."

To do this, Milroy is coordinating a national petition effort. The petition, called the "National Referendum to End the War in Central America" says, "We support freedom, justice and human rights in Central America." It calls on public officials to end all aid to the contras in Nicaragua, end military aid to the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, and remove U.S. troops from Honduras.

The petition, supported by a wide range of groups from SANE to the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to the United Church of Christ, is in a ballot form and is being distributed in 110 cities across the country. On June 18, people traveled to Washington to lobby Congress with the petition. "We want to involve people who haven't been involved before," says Milroy. "Signing the ballot is an easy thing to do."

The petition is just one part of the grassroots effort. This spring the Coalition was a chief architect of the April 25th Mobilization on Central America and South Africa. More than 100,000 people joined in the march in Washington, D.C. Labor union members and church groups organized large contingents to demonstrate alongside peace activists.

By developing a positive legislative agenda on Central America, the Coalition hopes to shape the debate in Congress and in platform committee hearings during the 1988 election campaign. Using a combination of specific legislative agenda with grassroots organizing, they plan to approach candidates for support.

For more information, contact Eleanor Milroy at the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-8400.

The Coalition was a major sponsor of the April 25th Mobilization on Central America and South America that attracted more than 100,000 people to Washington, D.C.

PSR

Hiroshima Day: Rememberance and Renewal

On August 6, thousands—perhaps millions—of people will pause to remember a day of suffering, death and destruction. In 1945 the first atomic weapon used in war was dropped on Hiroshima. In its aftermath, tens of thousands of civilians lay dead or dying.

Today, Hiroshima Day is a day of bearing witness, not only to the nightmare of nuclear annihilation, but to the dream of peace. It is a day for remembrance and renewal.

All across America, Physicians for Social Responsibility chapters will honor the memory of those who perished at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and renew its commitment to prevent nuclear war.

Lantern Ceremonies. Every August 6, along the banks of the Ohta River in Hiroshima, thousands gather from around the world for a paper lantern ceremony to commemorate the atomic bomb victims who fled to the Ohta seeking shelter from the flames and relief for their burns. Each lantern bears the name of someone who died as a result of the attack. The lanterns

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are lit and launched together, floating free to form a colorful array of bobbing lights. Many PSR chapters will hold similar ceremonies on lakes, rivers and reservoirs across the country.

Church Bell Ceremonies. Hiroshima reminds people that nuclear war would unleash catastrophic destruction. It is easy to forget that the arms race threatens human lives even if the weapons are never used. Every two seconds, a child somewhere in the world dies from an illness that could have been prevented if only a fraction of the resources now spent on the arms race had been devoted to its prevention.

Working with local churches, many PSR chapters will sponsor bell-ringing ceremonies to commemorate Hiroshima Day and alert their communities to the human costs of the arms race—unnecessary deaths and unmet human needs. Participating churches will ring their bells every two seconds for an hour on August 6.

A Minute of Silence. Many PSR chapters will ask city and county officials to call for a minute of silence at an appointed time on August 6 to commemorate the victims of Hiroshima. People will be asked to stop whatever they are doing to pause for 60 seconds of remembrance and reflection.

House Calls and Grand Rounds. Many individual PSR physicians will spend Hiroshima Day responding to the threat of nuclear war in a way they could not possibly respond to its victims. As part of PSR's nationwide Campaign for Public Outreach, they will make "house calls" in their neighborhoods and grand rounds in their hospitals with a video presentation rather than a black bag in hand. Seeking out other concerned citizens and fellow physicians, they will talk about the role that "We the People" can play in preventing nuclear war.

PSR's remembrance of Hiroshima Day does not stop at reflection. In looking back we are also looking forward—towards progress in arms control and actions that will lead to a safer world.

Twenty-five years ago, President Kennedy called the Limited Test Ban Treaty "an important first step, a step towards peace, a step towards reason, a step away from war." Today we can take the next step towards peace: a Comprehensive Test Ban. And there is no better time to renew our commitment to end all nuclear explosions than the anniversary of Hiroshima. The greatest honor we can give the memory of its victims is a commitment to nuclear war prevention and peace.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.

SANE/Freeze

Work Begins on the 1988 Elections

Candidates vying for president in the 1988 election are already tossing their hats in the ring—and sometimes retrieving them as well. To keep up with those candidates SANE and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign are already active in Iowa and New Hampshire, the two states that will make the earliest selections in next year's presidential sweepstakes.

Both states have the reputation for making and breaking candidates—from Ed Muskie to Jimmy Carter to Gary Hart—and peace activists there want to make sure that the candidates address the whole range of foreign policy issues.

Iowa. Ira Shorr of SANE described one innovative program that his group is coordinating with activists in Iowa. SANE's plan is to promote resolutions supporting the Comprehensive Test Ban in city councils and county boards in Iowa.

"This resolution is similar to one that's already been passed in almost 200 cities and counties around the United States." Shorr says. " The big difference is that we will be using the resolution to urge candidates to take a clear stand on the test ban and to focus attention on the impact of the arms race on Iowa."

Bob Brammer of Iowa's "Stop The Arms Race Political Action Committee" (STAR-PAC) adds that the resolution has been amended. It states that the a city council calls on "presidential candidates to pledge to promptly initiate a nuclear testing moratorium, if they are elected."

Brammer, a member of SANE's national board, also notes that "we've strengthened the resolution's position on the economic impact of the arms race. Agricultural communities in Iowa have been hard hit."

"Talking about agriculture brings the arms race home." says Shorr. "This is connected to efforts by groups such as Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility to get local government officials to act on foreign policy questions."

SANE/Freeze are hiring a person to coordinate this effort. The coordinator will work in conjunction with local activists to reach their goal of 30 communities with test ban resolutions by this fall.

As the resolution is passed in local areas, activists will use it to approach presidential candidates coming into the state. By having their city councils behind them activists will be able to pressure candidates to respond to the testing issue.

Brammer points out that this is only one

aspect of presidential election activities in the state. STAR-PAC has already sent out questionnaires asking candidates about their views on issues ranging from the test ban to contra aid. Plans are already in place for meetings with the candidates as well.

Brammer believes that Iowa represents a good opportunity for peace activists. "Iowa caucuses tend to be more liberal than primaries and caucuses in many other early states. Iowa isn't dependent on the military budget, so here peace issues are winning issues. If we can get specific positive positions from candidates here, then we will have made a real contribution to the movement."

New Hampshire. New Hampshire and Iowa compete for the title of earliest presidential preference state, but they operate in quite different ways. Where Iowa has caucuses, New Hampshire has a primary. To meet the challenge in New England, members of SANE, Freeze and other groups have already begun to knock on the first of what they expect to be 30,000 doors in the state. They are canvassing to talk with people about disarmament and urge them to pin down the candidates on these issues.

So far the response has been good. "We're finding that a lot of people in New Hampshire are fed up with the stereotype of their state as a backwater." says SANE Regional Director Kevin O'Connell. "They want the candidates to really talk about issues, and not just breeze in and out."

Patricia Bass, coordinator of New Hampshire Action for Peace and Lasting Security (PLS)—the state's Freeze group, says that this is just one aspect of their Presidential Primary Project. "We're hoping to identify a pool of volunteers from all over the state. We'll brief them on the issues and on questioning the candidates when they visit their towns." The volunteers will report back to PLS and the group will pass the information on to the national offices of SANE and Freeze. "Based on this information," she says, "we can monitor the candidates positions and see how they change. If they say something here on the Test Ban, we can get the information to activists in Iowa. They'll then be able to push the questions further."

PLS also wants to use canvassing to build the movement, especially in the southern, politically powerful, part of the state. "After the election, we hope that we'll have built a stronger grassroots network for the movement," says Bass.

In addition to canvassing, SANE/Freeze have sent questionnaires to candidates and some groups have already begun meeting with candidates.

This is just the beginning of some intensely political months in these and other states, but SANE and Freeze are making sure that the voices of peace activists will be heard—by voters and candidates.

For more information, contact SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100 or the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Suite 130, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 544-0880.

Los Angeles School Board member Jackie Goldberg, center, accepts Olof Palme Award from LA/ESR Chapter President Pat Allen, left, and California State Senator Diane Watson.

ESR

Los Angeles Chapter Honors Local School Board

The Los Angeles chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) presented the first annual Olof Palme Nuclear Age Education Award to the Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education for its work on nuclear-age education. School Board member Jackie Goldberg, who authored the Board's nuclear-age education resolution, accepted the award on behalf of the board.

California State Senator Diane Watson presented the award designed by sculptor Erwin Bender at a Hollywood luncheon ceremony. "Jackie always came to the task of education with the attitude, 'We need to get the job done,'" Watson said of Goldberg. Now, "school children will have the opportunity to learn about issues that truly affect them as future leaders and decision-makers in the nuclear age."

The School board was honored for its actions to introduce nuclear-age education in city schools, a program that began more than two years ago. In February 1985 the Board passed a resolution calling for "an in-service training program. . . . offering opportunities for teachers to acquire methods and materials for teaching students how to understand and deal with problems inherent in the nuclear age."

LA/ESR worked with Los Angeles residents holding widely divergent views to prepare a teacher resource guide for use in the program in regional schools.

The afternoon began with a performance by the Eagle Rock High School jazz band. The program also featured television stars Frances Nuyen and Ed Begley, Jr. (of "St. Elsewhere"), who read poetry written by students in primary and secondary grades.

Dr. Steven Koblik, a specialist in Scandinavian languages and a professor of political science at Pomona College, represented Mrs. Olof Palme, widow of Sweden's prime minister. "Olof Palme was not an ideologue, he was a visionary," said Koblik. To Palme, "the machinery of nuclear war was a direct affront to human dignity."

Many of the educators in the audience learned about ESR for the first time. LA/ESR President Pat Allen told *Nuclear Times* that the fanfare surrounding the luncheon has helped increase chapter membership significantly.

ESR works with local school boards and community groups in an effort to introduce its methods and materials to teachers and students around the country.

For more information, contact ESR, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1746.

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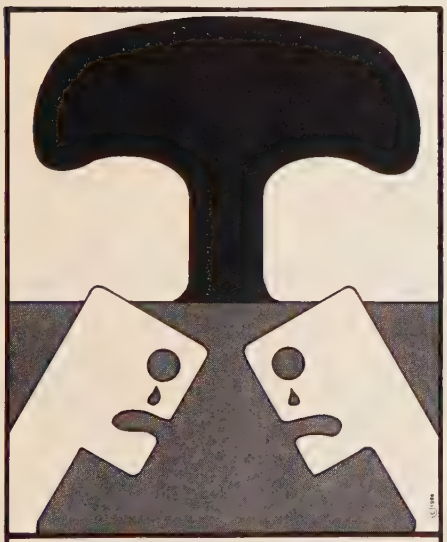

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ADPSR

Chicago Chapter Boards the Buses

"Consider: One day's federal nuclear arms spending equals the annual salaries of 6,000 Chicago school teachers. Consider your priorities. Write your senator."

Through a program sponsored by the Chicago chapter of Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR), buses on the most heavily travelled Chicago Transit Authority routes display six different primary-color posters with messages similar to the one above.

"Our concept was to create a poster series to communicate that nuclear weapons spending is a waste and that money spent building weapons could be spent in a positive way to improve the quality of life for Americans," said Kim Urbain, who designed the consciousness-raising posters with Abby Herget.

The designers worked hard to strike just the right tone. "We didn't want to present too strong a statement that would desensitize the audience. If it were too controversial, it couldn't be hung on public transportation, the natural choice for display," said Urbain.

The messages were carefully planned for the bus environment. "The posters had to be interesting because they are going to be seen alongside 20 other images on a moving bus with people jumping up and down," Urbain said. "So a simple, strong message, one that could be easily understood is what we wanted.

"As designers, we translated these objectives into bright colors, simple imagery and a fresh, bold look. We chose direct, single words to capture attention and tied those words to personal priorities.

"By saying 'Focus your priorities, Write your congressman' we are challenging people," she added. "We are saying 'If you don't like what is happening, if you are in any way moved by this, then think about doing something to change it.'"

Funding for the poster project came from individual and group donations. Since the messages on the posters address the concerns of distinct professional groups, such as the police, physicians or educators, ADPSR lobbied organizations representing such groups to sponsor the installation of specific posters.

Posters are available for $6 each or $35 per set of six. For more informations, contact the Chicago ADPSR chapter at (312) 663-1776, or the national ADPSR office at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

WAND

Plans for the Constitutional Bicentennial

The authors of the U.S. Constitution created a living document that would work not only for the United States of the 18th century, but for a future country that they could only imagine.

Today that Constitution and the people of the United States and the world are threatened by a reliance on nuclear weapons that threatens our liberty and our common defense.

To ensure that the next president of the United States makes it a priority to honor the Constitution in building a just and peaceful world, WAND has begun to work with its members to raise issues of nuclear arms control in the 1988 election. Because there is a wide-open race for both the Democratic and Republican nominations for president, all of the candidates are trying to develop platforms that will gain support from the American people.

As part of its Action Campaign, WAND is encouraging its national affiliates to hold "Constitutional" house meetings. These house meetings will provide an opportunity for outreach, grassroots growth, education and fundraising by focusing community attention on the way the nuclear arms race undermines the rights the Constitution was written to protect.

WAND has identified three key themes:

- the nuclear arms race does not provide for the common defense and the American people have the right under the Constitution to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons;
- nuclear weapons undermine the blessings of liberty—particularly since they jeopardize our existence;
- the people of the United States are empowered under the Constitution to shape a new consensus on national security.

As on Mother's Day, WAND affiliates across the country will use the occasion of the Constitutional bicentennial to discuss the role that women can play in bringing about a world free of the threat of nuclear war. Many groups are planning to celebrate the bicentennial in ways that will revive debate and the process of nonviolent dissension that is the basis of democracy. WAND plans through its campaign to help renew the vision embodied in the U.S. Constitution and to build the basis for successful work in the 1988 election year.

For more information on this campaign contact: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Ave, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.

Peace Links

Dee Rowland: PL Activist

In 1982, Dee Rowland of Salt Lake City was a frustrated member of the League of Women Voters. A former president of the League there, she had become increasingly concerned about the group's failure to take a position against the nuclear arms race. Soon thereafter she went to Washington, D.C. for the first Conference on Women and National Security (sponsored by the Committee for National Security) where she met Peace Links founder Betty Bumpers. She decided to join.

Rowland returned home and began to organize other women. "We were all feeling the same nervousness—at that time the Reagan administration was talking about limited nuclear war," says Rowland. "So we got together. One of the wonderful things about the group was that we had women from both political parties, from all religious backgrounds."

Having a group with Mormon's and non-Mormons is important in Utah, because the state's politics are so heavily influenced by the Mormon Church. Organizing there can be especially difficult because of the state's conservatism. In both 1980 and 1984 Utah gave Ronald Reagan his largest majority. It is the state that has elected Sens. Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn, both conservative Republicans.

But there is another side to Utah. When MX missiles were scheduled to be deployed in a sprawling network of underground railroads, public outcry forced the Carter administration to move them to silos. Since then some of the concern has died down. But the episode raised many people's awareness about nuclear weapons.

The Peace Links group works with people around the state on nuclear issues. "At first we weren't going to form a chapter, but the women who came felt a need to meet regularly," Rowland says. Now 85 women meet monthly to discuss nuclear issues and organize programs for others interested in nuclear war and weapons issues. In May they sponsored a program at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. It included sessions on Star Wars, test ban treaties and U. S.-Soviet relations.

The Peace Links group was only the start for Rowland. Today she works for the Catholic diocese's Peace and Justice Commission. This fall she'll be part of a 20 woman delegation to visit the Soviet Union. And early in May she took a major step by committing civil disobedience at the Department of Energy's Nevada test site.

"I liked the spiritual approach of the Nevada Desert Experience [the group coordinating the civil disobedience]," says Rowland. "Their approach is non-confrontational and faith-based. It's a positive approach." The Nevada Desert Experience coordinates civil disobedience and demonstrations at the test site as part of its work for a nuclear test ban. Other participants in the action included members of the U. S. Catholic hierarchy.

In addition to her trip to the Soviet Union, the future holds more activism for Rowland. "I'd like to have our Peace Links group investigate the issue of socially responsible investing—not investing in corporations involved in the production of nuclear weapons. I also want to focus on the comprehensive test ban and better relations with the Soviet Union."

Dee Rowland of Peace Links' Utah chapter.

For information on Peace Links, write us at 747 Eighth St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

AFSC

Lorraine Cranado Organizing in Denver

"I totally believe that this is the way to end the nuclear arms race," Lorraine Granado said of the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) new five-year 'Community Justice Project' in Denver. Based on AFSC's past work in the area, the project will support community organizing in five racially mixed, working-class, low-income neighborhoods.

On the surface, the project might not appear to be "disarmament" work. It attempts to prevent the decline of public services, improve community-police relations, and create opportunities for youth.

But to Lorraine, an AFSC disarmament staff member who has also served on the Freeze Executive Committee and the National Board of SANE, the connection is clear: "As we knew would happen, federal budget cuts have had a serious impact on communities where low-income people of color are living.

"These budget cuts result from the growing militarization of the federal budget—not to mention the large tax cuts several years ago, which primarily aided the wealthy. The major problem for peace and community activists isn't to see the relationship between peace and justice—the government makes it very clear—but rather to figure out what to do about it."

In Denver, the project's objectives are:

- Strengthen the ability of local communities to make the changes they need and build unity within a neighborhood by working across racial lines. Recently they succeeded in an effort to open a recreational center. For the first time their work has obtained substantial involvement by both Latino and white residents.
- Incorporate a clear understanding of the consequences of U. S. militarism. Lorraine says, "Our educational work doesn't take place in forums or workshops, as much as in the process of working on an issue.

"For example, the transportation and disposal of hazardous materials has been a big issue in three of the neighborhoods where we work. By organizing to make neighborhoods safer, it was easier to talk about nuclear weapons production."

- Organize in a way that challenges the power structure of the dominant society. "We talk a lot about the world we want in the future. But part of that world can happen now," Lorraine says. We challenge the hierarchical way in which our society functions. We try to work by consensus, to create a new way of sharing power and responsibility. And while we are firm in our demand that people be treated justly and with dignity, we try to do that without treating others as the 'enemy.'"

Lorraine sees her work in Denver as contributing to ongoing strategy discussions within the disarmament movement. "Large segments of the peace movement work from the top down. Their organizing reinforces the systems and power structures that have gotten us into this mess. I believe that peace will happen from the bottom up. When change happens it will be because people at the grassroots make it happen. To do this, people must know how to organize and exercise their power. Our job is to help make that possible."

For more information, write American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

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LIMITED EDITION: NUCLEAR TIMES BOUND VOLUMES. Back issues of *Nuclear Times* are now available in gold-embossed, leatherbound editions. Complete Volumes I-IV, October 1982-July/August 1986. Order now for immediate shipment; limited stock. $40.00 includes shipping and handling. Send to *Nuclear Times*, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20009.

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CALENDAR

July

2 TO 7/5 SEABECK, WASH. "Pacific Northwest Regional Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference" Speakers explore the theme of Liberation and Reconciliation. *Contact:* Milton Karr.

TO 7/7 AMHERST, MASS. "Building the Green Movement: A National Conference on New Politics." This first national meeting of the Greens in the U.S. features workshops, group discussions, music and an alternative 4th of July celebration. *Contact*: National Green Gathering Working Group (802) 295-1544.

11 SWARTHMORE, PA. A nonviolence training session for planned civil disobedience actions (and accompanying legal vigils) on July 16, 23, 30 at the General Electric Space Division plant in Valley Forge, Pa.

15 TO 7/19 COVENTRY, England. "The 1987 European Nuclear Disarmament Convention." Expected to be the largest international anti-nuclear gathering in Britain's history. *Contact:* END Convention 1987, London, (telephone) 01-250-4010.

28 SOVIET UNION. REGistration deadline for Peace Odyssey's 9/23-10/12 tour of the Soviet Union. Tour visits a cross section of Soviet society with stops in Moscow, Odessa, Yalta, Leningrad and other cities. *Contact*: Peace Odyssey (301) 730-8296.

31 NEW YORK CITY. THE Japan Society is showing "Genbaushi: Killed by the Atomic Bomb" a revealing documentary of American POWs in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The film will follow a 7 P.M. talk by its director and producer Gary Dewalt. *Information and ticket orders*: (212) 752-3015.

TO 8/2 CHICAGO. "THE CHRISTian Community: Prophetic and Reconciling" is the theme of Pax Christi USA's national assembly. Keynote speaker will be Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen of Washington. *Contact:* (814) 453-4955.

To 8/2 CHICAGO."ANNUAL Midwest Academy Retreat." with workshops on peace issues, U.S. foreign policy—including Central America, economic security, and other vital issues. *Contact:* Midwest Academy Retreat (312) 645-6010.

Three of the "Pantex Seven" are arrested during last year's Hiroshima/Nagasaki Day's non-violent civil disobedience action at the Pantex Nuclear Weapons Assembly Plant, the plant at which all U.S. nuclear weapons are assembled.

August

HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI DAYS The items listed in this calendar represent just a few of the many activities taking place around the country to commemorate the 42nd anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For information about other events contact Mobilization for Survival (212) 995-8787.

1 WORLDWIDE."GLOBAL Lantern Floating Ceremony." Culmination of a year round project focusing on the creation and exchange of personalized paper peace lanterns. *Contact*: World International Peace Lantern Exchange Project (608) 787-0801.

TO 8/9 TOKYO, HIROSHIMA and Nagasaki. "World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs." *Contact*: (03) 234-4434.

3 TO 8/6 MIDLAND, MICH. "Second Annual Michigan Faith and Resistance Retreat." Called by Methodist Bishop Judith Craig of Detroit, the retreat will feature speakers Molly Rush and Chet Meyers and will conclude with nonviolent civil disobedience at Wurtsmith Air Force Base on August 6. *Contact:* Rev. Peter Dougherty (517) 337-7301.

TO 8/9 BOULDER, COLO. SHUTdown is sponsoring a week-long peace encampment culminating in a peace walk to and blockade of the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant (where plutonium triggers for all U.S. nuclear bombs are made). The walk on July 9th will conclude with a peace rally and a human blockade of the plant. *Contact:* Shut Down (303) 443-2822.

5 WASHINGTON, D.C. "American Peace Park Vigil and Candle Walk." In addition to organizing this event and one on 8/8 in Washington D.C., American Peace Test is urging local groups around the country to schedule non-violent civil disobedience actions in commemoration of Hiroshima/Nagasaki days *Contact:* APT (202) 546- 5796.

TO 9/7 PORTSMOUTH, N.H. "New England Walk for Nuclear Disarmament." A peace encampment and walk supported by Seeds of Peace. The encampment begins August 5 and features workshops, speakers and music. The 300 mile walk starts August 9 and includes rallies at military bases and nuclear power plants. Walk concludes at Groton Bay, Connecticut, home of the Trident submarine manufacturer Electric Boat. *Contact*: New England Walk for Nuclear Disarmament (802) 257-4098.

6 TO 8/9 AMARILLO, TEXAS. "Pantex Pilgrimage." A four-day peace camp adjacent to the Pantex Nuclear Weapons Assembly Plant. Seven people were arrested last year (see photo). *Contact:* Red River Peace Network (806) 335-1715.

LAS VEGAS. "AUGUST DESERT Witness III." An interfaith protest of nuclear weapons testing, with prayer, vigil and nonviolent civil disobedience at the Nevada test site, sponsored by Nevada Desert Experience. *Contact:* NDE (702) 646-4814.

TO 9/7 LEVERETT, MASS. "A Walk for All Life." This 32-day "moving" witness for peace, disarmament and social justice will link up with the "New England Walk for Nuclear Disarmament" in Groton, Connecticut. *Contact*: A Walk for All Life (413) 367-9520.

8 WASHINGTON, D.C. "MARtin Luther King Jr. Fair for Human Rights and Human Needs." Speeches, a picnic, and a candle float. *Contact*: American Peace Test (202) 546-5796.

13 TO 8/16 RALEIGH, N.C. "War Resisters League, 1987 National Conference." Open to anyone interested in nonviolence and the building of a just and disarmed world. *Contact:* Mandy Carter (919) 682- 6374.

September

1 WORLDWIDE. "INTERNAtional Day." National War Tax Resister Coordinating Committee affiliates will be marking the day with various actions and others are encouraged to make their own gesture of protest against war taxes.

Ongoing

INFORMATION HOTLINES: NUclear legislation (202) 546-0408; Central America legislation (202) 543-0664; Nicaragua (202) 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0408; nuclear tests (702) 363-7780; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

CHICAGO'S PEACE MUSEUM. The exhibition "Winners" focuses on individual commitment, highlighting the efforts of both famous and lesser-known peace activists. Closes 7/31. "Voices from Exile," an exhibition of exiled South African artists, opens 8/2. *Contact:* The Peace Museum (312) 440-1860.

Compiled by Leon Tune.

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Second, that all human beings are interdependent, and, therefore, they all bear responsibility for the effects of their actions on their fellow beings;

Third, that the governments of the world are supporting an arms race that threatens the right to life of all humans on Earth;

Fourth, that this course must be stopped and reversed;

Fifth, that no additions to the excessive global nuclear arsenal can be allowed, that all testing of nuclear weapons must be halted, and that multilateral deep reductions in existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons must be made as soon as feasible;

Sixth, that the worldwide inventory of offensive armaments needs to be radically curtailed so that no nation will be able to indulge in physical aggression against any neighbor;

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